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EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN GUYANA

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN GUYANA submitted by Ahamad Baksh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology of Education.

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ABSTRACT

Using Guyana, one of the smaller emergent nations (83,000 square miles; population: 714,000) as a case study, this thesis attempts to examine and explain why the people of Third World countries generally persist in having high educational and occupational aspirations and expectations in the context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

The main theoretical argument of this study is that the Guyanese economy and society being part of the world capitalist system, have always been exploited in the context of dependent capitalism of which the Centre-Periphery arrangement is a crucial aspect. Dependent capitalism entails the development of a dualistic economic and wage structure. As a consequence, Guyanese have traditionally entertained high aspirations and expectations for the type of education that would enable them to become occupationally mobile in the small but dynamic high-wage, modern and service sectors of the economy. Unfortunately, the modern and service sectors have not expanded quickly enough to provide sufficient jobs for the thousands of Guyanese job-seekers, especially the primary school and secondary school leavers, hence a situation of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

Through the general theoretical framework of this study referred to as Dynamic Structuralism (a conflict approach) the data obtained from both structural and social-psychological sources are examined in connection with three interrelated aspects of the framework pertaining to the Guyanese problem studied. First, the attempt is made to examine the causes of the problem of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment in Guyanese society. Second, an explanation is sought for the extremely high (but subjectively realistic) aspirations and expectations for education and jobs focussed mainly on the modern and service sectors of the economy. Third, an effort is made to explain what effect factors such as residence, sex, social class and ethnicity have on respondents' aspirations and expectations in a context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

The study demonstrates that over a period of time (circa the late 1940's to the present) a disjunction has developed between Guyanese' educational and occupational aspirations/expectations on the one hand, and the ability or capacity of the economy to cater to these aspirations/expectations on the other hand. The mass elected governments of the Peoples Progressive Party and the Peoples National Congress (especially the latter) have tended to fuel this disjunction by rapidly expanding educational provisions at all levels and by rapidly expanding the service sector of the economy. It is argued that these have only been measures of expediency since they have not promoted real economic growth and have not helped to solve

the chronic unemployment problem or change the substantial wage differentials that exist between the modern and non-modern sectors.

While the government since 1971 has declared itself to be socialist and has instituted various measures such as the nationalisation of expatriates' holdings, the reorienting of existing and the creation of new institutions in the society with the apparent aim of bringing about rapid economic and social changes, the evidence shows that these measures have not helped to solve the chronic problems of the society. The author argues that this is so mainly because no attempt has been made to bring about fundamental changes simultaneously in the economic and social structure as well as in the educational system.

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While the author is extremely grateful to the many individuals, groups and institutions that have helped him in this major research effort, the author wishes to record his appreciation and deep gratitude to the undermentioned who have played the most crucial role in helping the author to complete this thesis to his satisfaction:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN THE THIRD WORLD

The aim of this chapter is to attempt a brief survey of the literature in relation to the three areas subsumed by the title. An attempt is made to examine the reasons usually adduced for the problem of unemployment in the Third World,[1] the role of education in solving or exacerbating the unemployment situation, and the problem of educational and occupational mobility in a context where the supply of educated manpower seems to exceed the supply of jobs.

The Problem

One of the most significant indicators of inadequate economic and social development in most Third World nations today is that of increasing rates of unemployment which range from 15 to 25 per cent of the labour force in urban areas.[2] Unemployment, furthermore, is predominant among the young between the ages of 15 and 24 years.[3] Under the capitalist system there will be a tendency for unemployment to occur since capitalists prefer capital intensive technology which has the effect of reducing the growth of demand for labour.[4] However, while the unemployment problem is not so serious in the industrialised countries, in the developing countries the unemployment problem is chronic and surpasses the unemployment experience of the industrialised countries at the height of the Great Depression in the 1930's.[5]

Subsumed under the label of the unemployment problem are several interrelated problems such as the following:

1. The shortage of work opportunities. This is referred to as open unemployment (persons without work and seeking it).[6]

2. Open underemployment and disguised underemployment in addition to open unemployment. Open underemployment is a situation in which persons are working less than 32 hours per week and seeking to work longer.[7] Disguised underemployment is a situation in which persons are working less than 32 hours per week and would probably seek longer hours if the opportunity were available.[8]

3. Attitudes and job expectations, particularly amongst the young and educated, which quite frequently vary sharply with the jobs available and with the priority jobs for quickening the pace of national development.[9]

There are a wide range of general causes related to the phenomenon of unemployment common to countries of the Third World—causes such as inadequate demand, deficiencies of supply, mismatching between employment opportunities and individual expectations and abilities, lack of suitable institutions and market distortions, both within a country and internationally[10]—the literature also stresses the important differences as to the nature and causes of unemployment characterising different developing countries. In Sri Lanka, for example, unemployment among secondary school and university graduates is the most important part of the problem (important at least in political terms).[11] In India, seasonal underemployment is a greater problem than rural open unemployment.[12] In Colombia, because of the highly unequal system of land tenure, a large proportion of the rural population is deprived of sufficient land for work and income; some are totally landless.[13] In Africa, while there is no landless class, there is often inadequate transport, capital, knowledge, institutional channels and incentives to stimulate full employment and a reasonable level of income.[14]

Following from the remarks made in the earlier part of this chapter concerning the idea that unemployment is an inherent characteristic of capitalist societies, mention should be made here of the notion that while the capitalist system characterises both 'developed' (industrialised) and 'underdeveloped' (Third World) economies and societies, the consequences of dependent capitalism in the Third World countries are somewhat different from the consequences of capitalism in the industrialised world. The following are some of these differences:

1. Since ideally, the capitalist system is based on the operation of free market forces governed by the

economic principles of supply and demand, unemployment seems to be a permanent feature of capitalist organization. In the time of an economic 'boom' the unemployment rate tends to fall while in the time of an economic 'slump,' the unemployment rate tends to rise. While in the developed capitalist economies the unemployment rate might tend to be between 5 and 10 per cent, in the dependent capitalist economies the unemployment problem is chronic, the unemployment rates generally exceeding 20 per cent of the employed labour force. The probable reason for this is that while the developed capitalist economies are hardly subjected to any large-scale exploitation of their economies by foreigners, the opposite is the case for the dependent capitalist economies. These economies are integrated with those of the developed capitalist economies and exploited for the benefit of the developed capitalist world.

2. Within the context of the capitalist system, schools function to reinforce capitalist structures. As a consequence, schools reproduce the social relations of capitalist development. Bearing in mind the idea that education is the most important avenue for occupational and social mobility, the problem of 'educated unemployment' is sooner or later bound to arise within capitalist society. This is probably because there is hardly any regulation between educational supply and occupational demand. While the educated unemployed are found in both

the 'developed' and dependent capitalist economies and societies, educated unemployment is not such a serious problem for those in the former societies mainly because there are many more alternative avenues of mobility in these societies. In the dependent capitalist economies and societies, on the other hand, alternative avenues of mobility are extremely scarce or even non-existent. Furthermore, the chronic unemployment problem in these societies increases the demand for school expansion since unemployment generally affects those with less schooling more than it does those with more schooling.[15]

3. Carnoy argues that while capitalist development may be characterised by a generally positive increase in per capita income, the income distribution is unchanged or increasingly unequal.[16] Another probable difference between the 'developed' and dependent capitalist economies and societies is that the wage and salary differentials existing in the latter economies and societies are greater than those existing in the former economies and societies. Following from this is the notion that the social demand for education in the dependent capitalist economies is linked to individuals' perceptions of subsequent opportunities in the modern sector of the economy in which one can obtain the highest wages and salaries. Thus the wage differentials existing between the modern and non-modern sectors influence the social demand for

education in that individuals hope to become occupationally mobile in the modern sector. Mainly because of its dependent capitalist nature, the modern sector is unable to expand quickly enough to satisfy the thousands of job aspirants. The developed capitalist economies are apparently not dualistic. The quite diversified occupational structure tends to provide reasonable opportunities for individual mobility.

It can be argued that the above features discussed in relation to the capitalist system are not necessarily characteristic of the non-capitalist (socialist) system of economic and social organization. The probable reason for this is that the socialist system is a non-market system in which central planning is prominent. Thus through manpower planning and other socialist measures the goals in the economic and social structure tend to parallel those of the educational system thereby avoiding the contradictions of the capitalist system.

There are at least four common features of the unemployment problem in the Third World. These are as follows:

1. Young workers preponderate in the unemployed group. The rate of unemployment among young workers is double or more than double that applying to the labour force generally.[17]

2. The proportion of 'inexperienced' workers tends

to be considerable. Inexperience is usually defined as having never worked before, to having never held a particular job for more than two or three weeks. The proportion of inexperienced unemployed to the total unemployed seems to vary from about 20 per cent to over 60 per cent.[18]

3. Relative to the whole working population, the unemployed as a group tend to be better educated, especially where young and inexperienced unemployed are numerous.[19]

4. Unemployment rates are relatively low among highly educated people. It is among the middle group—primary and secondary school leavers—where unemployment rates are the highest.[20]

The concentration of unemployment among the relatively younger age-groups who have had some level of education in part reflects the rapid rates of population growth over the last two decades. Comparative data indicate that population expansion in Third World countries has been occurring quite rapidly. For instance, the world's total population which numbered 2,986 million in 1960, was estimated at 3,610 million in 1970 and is expected to reach 4,374 million by 1980.[21] Of this figure, the population in the less developed regions in the world in 1980 is expected to be 3,193 million which is more than the entire world's population in 1960.[22]

The so called 'population explosion' embodies a more potent 'pupil explosion' and the accompanying increased financial investment to cater to the educational demands of this 'pupil explosion.'

The statistics in Table 1.1 indicate the rapidly rising rates of educational expenditures for both the developed and developing countries. Two points appear to be of significance: The first is that both the developed and developing countries have increased their educational expenditures substantially over the period under review. The second point is the tremendous gap in educational spending between the developed and developing countries. When one considers the fact that population is increasing more rapidly in the developing countries, one has to conclude that the developed countries continue to be successful in providing a better education for their peoples both in quantitative and qualitative terms whereas the developing countries are 'struggling' to keep pace with educational provisions primarily in quantitative terms. This point is seen more clearly when one examines the enrolment pattern at the first, second and third educational levels.

From Table 1.2 one sees that overall worldwide enrolment has increased by 52.8 per cent which is concentrated mainly at the third level. A comparison of the developed and developing countries indicates that while enrolment has increased substantially at the third level for the developed countries, enrolment has risen quite significantly at all three levels in the case of the

TABLE 1.1

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE BETWEEN 1960 AND 1971 (IN MILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS) FOR DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

		1960	1971	% INCREASE
Developed Countries		49,510	168,770	
	%	92.0	92.3	240.9
Developing Countries		4,300	14,000	
	%	8.0	6.7	225.6
World Total		53,810	182,770	
	%	100	100	239.7

Source: Adapted from UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1973, pp. 116-117.

TABLE 1.2

ESTIMATED TOTAL ENROLMENT BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS BETWEEN 1960 AND 1971 FOR DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

			PUPILS ENROLLED (IN THOUSANDS)			
		Year	First Level	Second Level	Third Level	Total
Developed Countries		1960	124,535	50,681	9,089	184,385
	%		67.6	27.5	4.9	
		1971	141,472	72,117	21,758	235,347
	%		60.1	30.6	9.3	
% Increase (1960-71)			13.6	42.3	139.4	27.7
Developing Countries		1960	118,952	18,245	2,085	139,282
	%		85.4	13.1	1.5	
		1971	207,002	45,372	6,671	259,045
	%		79.9	17.5	2.6	
% Increase (1960-71)			74.0	148.7	220.0	86.0
World Total		1960	243,487	68,927	11,174	323,587
	%		75.3	21.3	3.4	
		1971	348,474	117,480	28,429	494,383
	%		70.5	23.8	5.7	
% Increase (1960-71)			43.1	70.4	154.4	52.8

Source: Adapted from UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1973, pp. 102-103 and 106-107.

developing countries. Yet when one examines Table 1.2 in relation to Table 1.1, one notices that in the case of the developed countries a larger sum of money is expended on a smaller number of people. As far as the developing countries are concerned, educational expenditure is spread out much more thinly over a larger number of people.

Consequences of the Social Demand for Education

Concomitant with increased social demand for education and an increased supply of the educated in the Third World countries, there has developed a situation of chronic unemployment. As has already been pointed out, while unemployment rates among the highly educated are relatively low, unemployment among the educated as a group is a formidable problem. This problem is one of the outcomes of the social demand for education.

Existing research, such as the following, points to the nature and extent of the unemployment problem among the educated in various countries:

1. Quayyum Malick has pointed out in reference to Pakistan in 1973 that 20,000 science graduates and engineers and a considerable number of technically qualified people from the polytechnics were without jobs. Malick also noted that 30 per cent of the educated in Pakistan were unemployed.[23]

2. In the Philippines, as far back as 1961, fewer

than 25 per cent of all high school graduates in the age-group under 35 had full-time jobs; another 44 per cent were looking for work or had only part-time jobs; the rest had stepped out of the labour market. It was significant that it made little difference whether the job-seekers had taken general, academic, or vocational courses; the unemployment rate dealt even-handedly with all. University graduates fared slightly better, yet still not too well.[24]

3. A study in relation to the United Arab Republic in the 1960's reports that "about 70 per cent of the university enrolment is in the Faculties of Arts, Law and Commerce, and for the vast majority of these there is no demand . . . [such] graduates . . . constitute a large and rapidly growing group whose skills are largely substandard and unwanted."[25]

4. In India, between 1956 and 1962, the number of job-seeking 'matriculates' and 'intermediates' on the employment registers at various centres rose from 217,000 to over 644,000. For the same period, university graduates on the registers rose from 27,000 to over 63,000.[26]

5. In most of Latin America unemployment and under-employment have been heavy among secondary school and university graduates for many years while many African countries have experienced high unemployment rates among primary school leavers.[27]

Closely related to the phenomenon of educated unemployment is the problem of the 'brain drain' from the Third World to the industrialised countries. As Van Der Kroef observes:

> Perhaps none of the problems facing the developing areas in our time is as potentially dangerous to their long term growth and stability as the steady migration of the skilled and talented in these areas to the industrially advanced countries.[28]

It can be argued that an important reason for the 'brain drain' problem is that the social demand for education has resulted in a large percentage of the educated and skilled not being able to find employment in the relatively slowly expanding economies of underdeveloped countries, hence the attempt by the educated and skilled to find employment in various industrialised countries. The statistics indicate the extent of the 'brain drain' to the developed countries. For instance, between 1956 and 1967, immigration into the United States of engineers, physicians and scientists (including college and university instructional staff in these fields) from all nations had tripled from 5,373 to 15,272. Immigration from the developing countries in this period, however, had more than quadrupled, rising from 1,769 in 1956 to 7,913 in 1967.[29] Similarly, over 40 per cent of those who had been granted Landed Immigrant Status to Canada in 1974 can be said to have come from the developing areas of the world.[30]

While the 'brain drain' of the educated and skilled from the developing to the industrialised countries can be viewed as a coping mechanism developed in Third World countries to alleviate the chronic unemployment problem, a serious and growing problem in many Third World countries is that of educational devaluation or qualification escalation which is directly related to the chronic unemployment problem. As Ronald Dore observes:

> The paradox of the situation is that the worse the educated unemployment situation gets and the more useless educational certificates become, the stronger grows the pressure for an expansion of educational facilities.[31]

Thus in a context of chronic unemployment and underdevelopment a 'mad scramble' seems to take place for ever higher levels of education leading to increasing pressures on existing educational and other resources and resulting in wastage of human resources to a large extent because of the inability of the economy to accommodate this growing 'army' of credential holders.

The problems outlined in regard to the Third World as a whole are also characteristic of the emergent nation of Guyana which is the Third World country selected for detailed study. Guyana, too, experiences chronic unemployment, the rate of which exceeds 22 per cent of the labour force, a relatively 'stagnant economy' characterised by dependent capitalism, and an educational 'explosion' in which Guyanese continually aim for the highest levels of education in order to become occupationally mobile in the modern sector of the economy.

There are at least four main theoretical arguments which try to account for the related problems of educational inflation, educated unemployment, chronic unemployment and underdevelopment in Third World countries. These arguments are as follows:

1. Preference for non manual jobs and the colonial experience.
2. The micro-structural-economic argument.
3. The modernization thesis.
4. The macro-structural-economic argument.

The first two theoretical arguments have a narrower range and deal with the problem from a somewhat restricted framework by focussing specifically on reasons for high unemployment rates in Third World countries and assuming certain 'givens.' The third and fourth arguments are more broad-based in that they deal with the reasons for chronic unemployment, underdevelopment and educational inflation. Each of these arguments will be critically considered in turn.

Preference for Non Manual Jobs and the Colonial Experience

The first popular argument is that the young and relatively well educated "tend to show a marked preference . . . for non-manual work which is considerably at variance with the existing structure of occupations."[32] Turnham, for example, observes that during 1966 in Bogota, over

60 per cent of first time job-seekers were looking for white collar work while white collar male workers comprised only 40 per cent of the total labour force.[33] An Indian sample showed that while 60 per cent of first time job-seekers sought white collar jobs and less than 30 per cent industrial work, less than 20 per cent of the employed population had white collar jobs.[34] In the same vein Van Der Kroef points to the situation in Malaysia in 1968 where the "government needed more technicians instead of white collar workers."[35] According to Van Der Kroef: "The problem of a simultaneous glut of would-be white collar employees and a shortage of technical workers reflects the persistence of traditional vocational preferences and aversions in many of the Asian nations, and, indeed, in developing countries generally."[36]

Closely related to the view that there is a preference for white collar types of employment in Third World countries is the observation that this attitude was fostered through the colonial experience and that the present educational systems of Third World countries being 'hangovers' from the colonial era, tend to perpetuate neocolonial attitudes towards work. Gunnar Myrdal points out in reference to South Asia, that the colonisers quickly acquired the habit of avoiding physical toil and acted like members of a 'supercaste.' By so doing they created a false impression of contemporary conditions in western industrialised societies. Of more significance, according to Myrdal, was the school system developed by the colonial governments. Colonial rule created openings for white collar workers and administrators, especially the junior and intermediate positions, which in time were filled by the locals in the various colonies. The curriculum in the schools was literary and academic and this emphasis also agreed with the traditional inclinations in South Asia. Parents in the higher socio-economic strata were generally very eager for their children to take advantage of the colonial type of education because in addition to its prestige value, this type of education commanded an income far above that of an ordinary labourer.[37]

It can be argued, however, that it was not the 'aversion for manual work' or the 'colonial experience' per se which have led Third World peoples to aspire for an academic type of education or for white collar types of jobs. An important aspect of colonialism was that the colonial power had a vested interest in the modern sector and so made this more attractive in terms of prestige and remuneration for jobs. To obtain a job in the modern sector required a certain level of education. Thus under colonialism, because of the wage differentials between the modern and non-modern sectors, the colonised took the realistic attitude of striving for the type of education that would ensure them a rewarding and secure job in the modern sector. Independence for the colonies has seen the departure of the colonial power from the colonial scene but the basic colonial pattern remains: The modern sector continues to be the more dynamic sector and jobs in this sector continue to be the most financially rewarding and secure. The majority of job-seekers continue to be realistic by aiming for the type of education that would qualify them for white collar jobs in the modern sector.

Martin Carnoy and Philip Foster are two strong supporters of the above view. Carnoy, for instance, points out that various attempts to change the school curriculum to better fit graduates for the special 'needs' of the job market will not solve the unemployment problem. This solution incorrectly assumes that the problem is on the supply side alone—that there is a mismatch between the educational supply and the jobs available on the market. It also assumes that schools can convince people to want certain kinds of jobs by training them for those jobs. Neither assumption can be supported by empirical evidence, according to Carnoy who argues that high unemployment among school leavers in the developing countries prevails because "at the going wage and with the technology used by capitalists, there are fewer jobs than people available."[38] Further, "the motivations of students depend on their perceptions of subsequent opportunities. These perceptions in turn, are derived from the realities of the socioeconomic environment."[39] In other words, people value education for occupational mobility in the high wage, modern or capitalist sector of the economy.

Philip Foster also outlines a similar explanation when he refers to Africans' preference for academic education and non-manual types of jobs. The efforts made by colonial governments to make the curriculum more 'practical' and related to agricultural development failed for two main reasons. First, according to Foster, any changes from the Metropolitan curriculum—particularly at the secondary level—were seen as attempts to provide Africans with an inferior type of local education that would preclude them from competing with the colonial elite for higher status occupations. Second, it was quite evident that a career in agriculture usually offered inferior income alternatives to other occupations; anyone who had academic education and was employed even in a low level, clerical and administrative post in the public or private sector was always better off than the majority of farmers.[40] In [illegible]ster's view, Africans' preference for academic schooling resulted from a perfectly realistic assessment of the vocational advantages of such an education. It did not arise from any disdain for manual work among Africans, as many expatriates believed.[41]

Micro-Structural-Economic Argument

A second type of argument that tries to account for chronic unemployment and educational inflation in Third World countries is a micro-structural-economic one. Edgar O. Edwards and Michael P. Todaro are two proponents of this argument or explanation. In addressing themselves specifically to the relationship between the growth of productive employment and the demand by individuals for education, Edwards and Todaro argue "that to a large extent individual students and their families view education as a passport for entry into the modern, urban industrialised economy with its disproportionately high-paying employment opportunities."[42] Students' demand for adequate education to qualify them for employment in the modern, urban industrialised sector is related to or determined by a combination of the following four factors:

1. Educational demand is positively related to the urban-rural or modern-traditional wage differential. These differentials are usually sizable in Third World countries so that the greater the differential, the higher the demand for education.[43]

2. Closely related to the wage differential variable is the probability that those who successfully complete the necessary schooling for entry into the modern sector labour market will in fact get that high paying urban job. The probability of actually getting a job is

inversely related to the unemployment rate, i.e., the more people with appropriate qualifications who seek a particular job, the lower will be the probability that any one will be successful.[44]

3. Educational demand is inversely related to the direct costs of education. Direct costs consist of out of pocket financial expenses for a child's education and include school fees, books, clothing and related costs. The higher the direct costs, the lower would be the private demand for education.[45]

4. An investment in a child's education consists of more than direct, out of pocket costs of that education. 'Opportunity costs' also have to be borne in mind. For example, by proceeding on to a university, a secondary school graduate is in effect foregoing the income which he could expect to earn as a secondary school graduate during the period he is receiving a university education. The greater the opportunity costs, the lower will be the demand for education.[46]

Edwards and Todaro observe that under these four conditions, the demand for education will tend to be exaggerated since the anticipated private benefits are large compared with the alternative of little or no schooling and since the direct and indirect private costs are so low.[47] Furthermore, the more unprofitable a given level of education becomes as a terminal point, the more demand for it increases as an intermediate stage or precondition to the next level of education.[48] For instance, the more a primary school education becomes devalued in relation to secondary school education, the more this primary education will be sought after as a 'stepping stone' to secondary education.

According to Edwards and Todaro, as the unemployment situation worsens, there is an increased demand (matched by an increased supply) of education at all levels. The reason for this is that in a situation where education is heavily subsidised or free, direct costs as well as opportunity costs would tend to be low. As qualifications for jobs keep rising, educational devaluation takes place. This in turn leads to increased demands for a higher level of education. This situation in turn leads to educational inflation. While initially it is the uneducated who swell the ranks of the unemployed, over time the tendency is for the average educational level of the unemployed to rise as the supply of school graduates continues to exceed the demand for middle and high level manpower.[49]

The unemployment problem is exacerbated by governments' policies and actions that seek to satisfy social demand for education. Given a situation in which education is heavily subsidised or free on the one hand and unrealistic income differentials exist between the modern and non-modern sectors on the other, a substantial gap between the demand for education and the supply of employment opportunities is inevitable. But when various governments opt for policies in which educational demand continues to be satisfied, the real problem of unemployment is merely postponed.[50]

Edwards and Todaro point out that the educational system does act as a rationing mechanism for jobs in that when jobs are given in the modern sector on the basis of who have the highest educational qualifications, the less fortunate educationally, are relegated to the fringes of the modern sector, or to the non-modern sector.[51] This point is essentially the same made by Jagdish Bhagwati who hypothesizes:

> The benefits can be handed out to the elite groups by the State without obvious disaffection if they are handled via the educational system which, in principle, at least, is open to all classes and castes and therefore conceals effectively its inegalitarian impact.[52]

Thus while governments may appear to be democratic in acceding to the social demand for education, in reality the educational system acts as an efficient device for reproducing the inegalitarian aspects of the social structure. It is therefore quite obvious that the educational system does not relieve the unemployment problem or improve the allocation of resources to any significant extent.[53]

Edwards' and Todaro's explanation does appear to have a great deal of merit. These theorists show useful insights in terms of the reasons for educational inflation and devaluation in a context of chronic unemployment. It appears, however, that the ideas and hypotheses of these theorists, though applicable generally, might need to be modified in the light of reality in specific societal contexts. For example, Edwards and Todaro seem to assume a model of society based on the capitalist system but in a society like Guyana where the government has recently abolished all fees from the kindergarten to the university level in keeping with socialist objectives, the concepts of direct costs and opportunity costs might not be that relevant since most of the costs are now borne by the government and individuals and groups are aiming for the highest levels of education they can obtain.

The Modernization Thesis

A third type of argument that tries to account for the unemployment situation and educational inflation in Third World countries is an economic one and is related to a situation in which a society is gradually becoming modernized. The hypothesis advanced by Philip Coombs (who also assumes that societies are organised on the basis of capitalist principles) is that as the economy modernizes, the composition of the labour force changes. The economy changes from that of a low-wage, low productivity, labour intensive one, towards being a higher productivity, capital intensive, labour saving one.[54] In other words, the economy changes from a pre-capitalist occupational structure to a capitalist occupational structure.

Coombs argues that education and training play a major role in the advance towards modernization by developing an educated labour force that has a higher productivity. As the process continues, education changes from a scarce to an abundant commodity desired by all who want to escape the shrinking, unskilled sector of the labour force.[55] As educational expansion continues to occur, the supply of new top jobs becomes scarcer relative to the number of people seeking them. The educated then adapt to the situation by stepping down on 'their job preference scale' until they can find a job they can actually get, something less than their first choice.[56]

According to Coombs, the unemployment problem in the context of modernization is worsened by the following three factors:

1. Modernization tends to generate more unemployment than employment in the early stages because, in the economic sense, modernization implies the raising of human productivity—doing more work, producing more output with fewer manhours of effort.[57]

2. If the process of modernization happens to coincide with a rapid population growth, the society's unemployment problem becomes much larger. This is so because the labour force expands much more rapidly than the

capacity of the economy to absorb new labour. In addition, if the educational system's output has expanded considerably, then many of the new job-seekers will have had some sort of education. It then begins to appear as if the nation had somehow got itself 'over-educated.'[58]

3. For various historical reasons, the employment structures of many developing countries, their labour market mechanisms, wages and salary structure, and the resultant deployment of those who are educated, are all seriously out of tune with what is necessary to obtain maximum economic growth.[59]

Apart from being ethnocentric, Coombs to some extent seems to adopt the Lewis-Fei-Ranis employment model which assumes the underdeveloped economy to comprise two sectors—the non-modern or subsistence sector characterised by surplus labour, and the modern industrial sector into which labour from the non-modern sector is gradually transferred. As the transfer of labour proceeds the expectation is that unemployment (or underemployment) in the non-modern sector would be reduced as employment in the modern sector increases. The actual evidence, however, indicates that the basic assumptions of the model are at sharp variance with the situation in most developing economies.[60] It can therefore be argued that some of Coombs' ideas regarding education and the unemployment problem are based on false premises.

Furthermore, Coombs' modernization argument omits or understates two dimensions that continue to plague Third World countries. These dimensions are the dependency relationships of exploitation which various Third World countries continue to have with Metropolitan countries and related to this is the nature of capitalism itself, especially dependent capitalism, which is characterised by large-scale chronic unemployment.

Macro-Structural-Economic Argument

The fourth type of explanation that seeks to account for the problem of chronic unemployment and underdevelopment in the Third World is reflected in the ideas of Andre Gunder Frank and Martin Carnoy. These ideas are subsumed under the framework of 'dependency theory' since Frank and Carnoy focus on the problem of foreign penetration in the political economies of Third World countries. Generally, dependency theory accounts for underdevelopment throughout the Third World in terms of external economic and political influence. More specifically

> the economy of certain nations is believed to be conditioned by the relationship to another economy which is dominant and capable of expanding and developing. Thus the interdependence of such economies assumes contrasting forms of dominance and dependence so that the dependent nations might develop as a reflection of the expansion of dominant nations or underdevelop as a consequence of their subjective relationship.[61]

Frank's argument is that there is an inverse relationship between economic development of the Third

World and the closeness of contact or interaction with the developed or industrialised world.[62] According to this argument most Third World countries are caught in a complex web of economic, social and political dependence, operating through a wide range of interrelationships between power groups in the industrialised countries and key interest groups in the developing countries, all combining to produce structures of underdevelopment and hence structures of unemployment. Multinational corporations feature prominently in these interrelationships.[63]

In Frank's view, "contemporary underdevelopment [in the Third World] is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries."[64] These relations, in addition, are an important part of the structure and development of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole.[65]

Frank contends that there is a Metropolis-satellite relationship both between and within countries. To support his contention, Frank advances five hypotheses, three of which are directly concerned with underdevelopment in the Third World as a whole. These hypotheses are as follows:

> 1. . . . in contrast to the development of the world metropolis which is no one's satellite, the development of the national and other subordinate metropoles is limited by their satellite status.[66]
>
> 2. . . . the satellites experience their greatest economic development and especially their most classically capitalist industrial development if

> and when their ties to their metropolis are weakest.[67]
>
> 3. . . . the regions which are the most underdeveloped and feudal-seeming today are the ones which had the closest ties to the metropolis in the past. They are the regions which were the greatest sources of capital for the world metropolis and which were abandoned by the metropolis when for one reason or another business fell off.[68]

Probably the key insight of Frank is his view that underdevelopment is not due to the presence of archaic insitutions and the existence of capital shortage in areas that have remained isolated from the mainstream of world history. On the contrary, 'development' and 'underdevelopment' are parts of the same historical process in that they are organically linked to each other within the context of the capitalist system.

While Frank's general theoretical perspective has been subjected to detailed and general criticisms,[69] his ideas regarding the reasons for continued underdevelopment and hence chronic unemployment in Third World countries appear to be quite sound. The major reason of course has to do with the dependent nature of many Third World economies and societies. Through various relationships of dependency these countries are continually being exploited and underdeveloped for the benefit of various Metropoles.

Closely related to Frank's Metropolis-satellite framework is Martin Carnoy's Centre-Periphery model (originally espoused by Johan Galtung),[70] which appears to be a refinement of Frank's model in that Carnoy lays greater emphasis on the Centre-Periphery relationship within a country, and the nature of the world capitalist system. Galtung's model identifies three kinds of relationships between Centre (industrialised) and Periphery (Third World) nations:

1. The centre in the Centre nation and the centre in the Periphery nation have a harmonious relationship.
2. More disharmony of interest is present within the Periphery nation rather than within the Centre nation.
3. Disharmony of interest characterises the relationship between the periphery of the Centre nation and the periphery of the Periphery nation.[71]

It is to be noted that while there is disharmony of interest between the Centre nation and the Periphery nation as a whole, there is a strong harmony of interest between the two centres. The dynamics of this interest structure between the two centres operate in the following manner, according to Carnoy:

> The centre of the advanced capitalist nation maintains the position of the centre in the Periphery nation with military aid, technical assistance, and government to government "development" loans and grants. The centre in the Periphery nation benefits from this relation: their disproportionate share of political power and national product is maintained by it. The centre, and to some extent, the periphery in the Centre nation profit from the relation because they maintain access to raw materials and markets in the periphery.[72]

Apart from the above, the formation and maintenance of the Centre within the Periphery hinges on the formation of local elites. In this regard education appears to play a key role. Under the system of colonialism to which many Third World countries were subjected, education served to socialise the colonial masses into compliance and acceptance of the status quo. Yet it is paradoxical that the same colonial system of education also produced some individuals who were articulate and critical of the colonial system. These individuals formed the core of national political movements which eventually secured political independence in the various colonies. However, independence having been achieved, the new local elites forming the new Centres in the ex-colonial Peripheries have not been too anxious to share the power, authority and privilege they have inherited, with the broad masses. As M. K. Bacchus observes:

> A marked feature of these recently independent countries is that opportunities for upward social mobility have been declining in the post-independence period and the new local elite who, largely on account of their education, enjoy relatively prestigeous positions have developed vested interests in the existing social structures and are not very keen on democratising these further.[73]

Thus as Kathleen Drayton remarks:

> Decisions at every level are taken for the people, seldom with them. The function of the people is therefore to be docile and to carry out orders.[74]

To a large extent, then, education serves the same function as it did under colonialism only in this case the new ruling class and the new elite comprising the Centre within the Periphery, are locals.

A further argument of Carnoy is that the basis of capitalist economic growth is to maximise the return to capital rather than to labour. Under the system of capitalism there will be a tendency for unemployment to occur because of capitalists' preference for capital intensive technology which has the effect of reducing the growth of demand for labour and putting downward pressure on wages.[75] In other words, as far as the operation of the capitalist system in Third World countries goes, the centre in the Centre nation with the cooperation of the centre in the Periphery nation uses the capitalist mode of production to extract profits in the Periphery nation, all the while contributing to increasing rates of unemployment.

Carnoy notes that capitalist organisation of production can result in increases in output and an increasing per capita income for a particular country, giving one the illusion that the country is experiencing significant economic growth. However, capitalist growth is characterised by unchanged or increasingly unequal income distribution, and unchanged or increasing unemployment. This implies that although there might be an increase in per capita economic output, large numbers of low income earners may not participate in the increases in national product, or may find themselves even worse off as the result of capitalist development.[76]

While these are by no means the representation of all of Carnoy's ideas, the ones outlined above appear to be useful in analysing the chronic unemployment problem in Third World countries. What Carnoy's ideas help one to understand is the nature of the Centre-Periphery relationship that persists between as well as within nations. It is true that a significant proportion of many Third World economies is dominated by foreign, multinational corporations which seek to maximise profits, increasing production by using the latest capital intensive technology available. By so doing these multinational corporations aggravate the unemployment problem in Third World countries either by actually shedding labour or increasing their demands for labour only marginally.

Education and Mobility

The governments of many Third World countries have usually made official pronouncements in relation to the achievement of equality of opportunity regardless of race, class or creed and the importance of realising genuine egalitarianism in all spheres of activity. Furthermore, a commonly held belief is that a more egalitarian society is usually achieved via the educational system. In the context of chronic unemployment and underdevelopment, the dependent capitalist economies of many Third World countries have been unable to cope with the occupational and social aspirations of the broad masses. In this situation the problem of which groups or classes are afforded the opportunity to become the most mobile, seems to be an important one in that one can obtain some indication as to the extent to which official pronouncements match actual practice in many Third World countries.

Education is generally regarded as the most important avenue for occupational and social mobility in the Third World because

> by and large, educational systems respond quantitatively, structurally, and qualitatively to society's aggregate private demand for education. This demand in turn is influenced mainly by the structure of the economic and social incentive system and the socio-political constraints operative in that society.[77]

Since it is already known that educational and occupational demand usually exceed supply, it is obvious that various mechanisms would be developed in Third World countries to cope with this situation. It is also obvious that depending on the extent to which egalitarian goals are realised in practical terms rather than ideology, it is likely for different groups to benefit differentially from the educational, occupational and social reward systems of individual Third World countries.

There are usually two contrasting theses that try to account for the role of education in occupational and social mobility. The first may be referred to as the 'social mobility' thesis while the second may be referred to as the 'social reproduction' thesis. The general assumption of the social mobility thesis is that schooling is the normal channel of mobility open to everyone willing to use it, since it is available to all without any kind of discrimination. Modern industrial society is one in which social stratification is largely open and where social mobility is possible. With the general system of education, the 'circulation of elites' is possible and, in fact partly realised. One does not have to be born within the ruling class in order to accede to a position of power, influence or wealth.[78]

In line with the social mobility thesis, Olive Banks, for instance, points out that education plays the role of training and allocating individuals to various occupational positions in the society. The allocative function is directly related to occupational demands made by the economy for skilled manpower.[79] Banks argues that "entry to these new occupations is increasingly dependent on the acquisition of the necessary educational qualifications."[80] Status is increasingly based on achievement through educational success.[81]

The social mobility thesis has been seriously questioned by theorists who support the social reproduction thesis of mobility contending that "the educational system is not a channel of social mobility, but rather a factor of stagnation of the stratification system."[82] Bourdieu and Passeron, for instance, argue that in industrialised societies the educational system has been of more advantage to the middle classes and social groups which are already privileged and which have always been this way.[83] Furthermore, "on account of the cultural as well as the economic obstacles with which it opposes the mobility of the lower classes, the system of education reproduces indefinitely existing social inequalities, and can even create wider discrepancies and more inequalities."[84] In like manner, Carnoy points out:

> . . . schools help maintain a hierarchical structure, and help ensure that the same class of people end up at the top of the hierarchy in each generation and the same class at the bottom . . .[85]

It seems that the social reproduction thesis of social mobility is a much more acceptable framework from which to analyse social reality since this thesis appears to take a much more realistic view compared to the social mobility thesis. The point to note, however, is that different theorists' interpretations of the role of education in relation to mobility especially in Third World countries are likely to take either the 'social mobility' or 'social reproduction' perspective, each of which has different implications for the concept of egalitarianism.

With regard to the role of education in occupational and social mobility in Third World countries, Philip Foster who seems to be guided more or less by the social mobility thesis, argues that although education contributes to maintaining existing systems of stratification, it also facilitates a good deal of mobility.[86] Foster concedes that familial wealth and more importantly the occupational and educational background of parents are correlated with the amount of education a person receives. He points to the incidence of poor children in developing countries frequently dropping out of school in the early grades and apparently failing to benefit from their educational experience. Foster concedes that as one moves up through the educational system the proportion of students from better social class backgrounds continues to rise. Inevitably, the children from the upper and middle strata tend to benefit disproportionately from public education.[87]

Foster is careful to point out, however, that data from Ghana and the Ivory Coast indicate that in absolute terms the majority of secondary school children come from non-elite homes and are recruited from a cross-section of the population. Furthermore, the pattern of recruitment into the elite stratum of both societies has been relatively open with a significant number of the elites of both Ghana and the Ivory Coast being of humble origin.[88]

The advice given by Foster to Third World nations is that the people of these nations should not strive for the unattainable 'Holy Grail of equality of educational opportunity' because as long as schools generally function to select and allocate individuals in the occupational and social structure, and criteria for selection are largely based on merit, inequality of educational opportunity is inescapable.[89] Instead, Third World peoples should aspire through well directed social engineering to ensure that the schools can contribute to maintaining a relatively open class structure.[90]

Foster's optimism and manner of thinking are no doubt influenced by his African experience. It is generally conceded that many African countries, as compared with countries in Asia and Latin America, do have a relatively open social stratification system and that occupational and social mobility are being achieved to a significant extent. But Foster like others who adopt the social mobility thesis in contrast to the social reproduction thesis of mobility, fails to specify that "the educational system plays the role of the channel of individual mobility for a certain proportion of young men and women, but the overall system of social class and social stratification is not modified."[91] In other words, education in Africa has helped promote individual not group or social mobility.

Bhagwati is one of those theorists who makes use of the social reproduction thesis of mobility. In referring to the manner in which social classes benefit differentially from educational provisions, in various Third World countries, Bhagwati advances the following hypothesis:

> For each class of education, the State (in capitalist LDC's) will subsidise the cost of education; the benefits of these subsidies will accrue disproportionately less to the poorer groups at each level of education: the higher the educational level being considered, the higher will be the average income level of the groups to which the students belong; and the rate of governmental subsidization to higher education

will be greater than that to primary education.[92]

Bhagwati's hypothesis is based on the view that the manner in which governments subsidise education will reflect class structure and that the classes that benefit more from (any) education in general will be the higher income groups.[93] While Bhagwati examines Indian data to substantiate his hypothesis, evidence from other Third World countries also tends to confirm Bhagwati's argument. In the case of Latin America, for instance, Ivan Illich observes: "Everywhere in Latin America more money for schools means more privilege for a few at the cost of most."[94]

In a similar manner, Shamsul Huq in referring to South and Southeast Asia, points out that elitism, though much denounced as a colonial heritage, has continued to characterise the growing educational system with the socially and economically disadvantaged having a marginal share of its benefits.[95] Irregular attendance, repetition and dropping out ensure that only a small number acquire functional literacy. In referring particularly to Indonesia, Thomas observes that among the criteria determining social status in the 1960's, education, occupation and family background, remain the most significant.[96] The top levels of government continue to be dominated by an intellectual and social elite which has grown up among the western educated Indonesians during the late colonial times and had matured in the years of revolution.[97]

Regarding the situation in India, Gusfield remarks that effective demand for education is disproportionately that of the urban, high caste and high occupational levels of Indian society. Within the cities, the Brahmins and Kyasthas, traditionally the educated castes in India, continue as a high percentage of student populations. The interrelationships between caste levels, occupational position, and income are reflected mutually in the tendency for the educational system to be open more for the rich and well-born than for the poor and low caste.[98]

The continent with the most rigid social stratification system appears to be Latin America which is said to be a mixture of modern aspirations, old prejudices, and outworn social systems.[99] The conflict between contemporary society and the colonial and neocolonial heritage is to be found in the state of Latin America's educational institutions, for "the Spaniards who conquered Latin America brought with them a tradition of education for the few."[100] The perpetuation of this tradition is due to a strong Centre-Periphery arrangement within Latin America as well as between Latin America and various countries of the industrialised world.

In keeping with its pronounced elitist tradition, it is pointed out that in present day Latin America "all men are simply not thought to be equal or deserving of equal treatment."[101] Consequently, schools make no concerted attempts at providing equality of educational opportunity or social and economic mobility. Arnove, for example, points out that the drop our rate for both urban and rural primary school children is 70 per cent; for secondary school children it is 68 per cent, while only one per cent of those who begin schooling ever reach or complete higher education.[102]

Given the situation in many Third World countries in which educational and occupational aspirations continue to rise, governments find themselves in an embarrassing position and respond partly to the people's aspirations by providing increased educational opportunities which are relatively less difficult to provide in comparison with the provision of increasing job opportunities. However, because occupational supply, especially in the modern sector, continually fails to match educational and occupational aspirations, important mechanisms are usually developed in various Third World countries to deal with the disjunction between aspirations and the economy. One of these mechanisms is the educational system itself. As already pointed out by Bhagwati, Third World governments tend to spend more on a per capita basis at the higher educational levels. While in theory all classes and groups are free to make use of the various educational provisions, it is the higher socio-economic classes which ultimately obtain the greatest benefits from such provisions. Furthermore, when jobs are allocated on the basis of who have the highest educational qualifications, it is the higher socio-economic groups who are again at an advantage since they are the ones who usually have the highest educational qualifications. Thus the educational system functions effectively in helping to distribute the scarce rewards of society mainly on the basis of socio-economic class.

The justification and perpetuation of inequality in many Third World countries is usually reinforced through the type of argument advanced by some social scientists. The argument (which has important implications for policy making by governments) is that one has to make a choice between economic development and egalitarianism because the two cannot be pursued simultaneously. C. A. Anderson, for example, is of the view that equality of opportunity "is neither a touchstone of political democracy nor required for economic development."[103] Similarly, Foster remarks that an educational system designed to bring about economic development might be far from egalitarian in its characteristics.[104] Foster is convinced that economic development, conceived in terms of increased per capita income, takes precedence over egalitarian goals.[105] He is of the strong view that educational resources should therefore be concentrated on areas and groups that are most able to profit from rather than spreading them so evenly and thinly that no one derives any significant benefits.[106]

The kind of view expressed by Anderson and Foster is strongly opposed by other social scientists who have had some exposure to Third World problems. Myrdal, for instance, argues that "inequality and the trend toward rising inequality stand as a complex of inhibitions and obstacles to development and that consequently, there is an urgent need for reversing the trend and creating greater equality as a condition for speeding up development."[107] Myrdal points out that contrary to the argument of some western social scientists that there is a conflict between the two goals of economic growth and greater economic equality, these are often in harmony since greater equality in underdeveloped countries is almost a condition for more rapid growth.[108] Myrdal advances four main reasons for his argument for greater equality in the developing countries:

1. The typical argument that inequality of income is a condition for saving is not too applicable to Third World countries where the rich tend to squander their incomes in conspicuous consumption and conspicuous investment.[109]

2. The masses of poverty striken peoples in underdeveloped countries suffer from a variety of defects including undernutrition, malnutrition, lack of elementary health, housing, sanitation and educational facilities, all of which impair their willingness and ability to

produce. The implication, therefore, is that measures taken to raise income levels for the masses would raise productivity.[110]

3. Social inequality and economic inequality are mutually related, each being both cause and effect of the other. Greater economic equality would undoubtedly tend to lead to greater social equality. Since social inequality is detrimental to development it can be argued that greater equality in both the social and economic spheres would lead to higher productivity.[111]

4. It must also be recognised that behind the quest for greater equality is the recognition of the notion that it has an independent value in terms of social justice and implications for national integration.[112]

While Myrdal differs from Anderson and Foster in relation to the equality issue, Edwards and Todaro are sceptical about the idea of manipulating the educational system in order to achieve economic development while at the same time leaving the economic and social structure relatively untouched. Edwards and Todaro warn that

> tinkering with educational supply alone will not close the fundamental, troublesome, and growing gap between the demand for education and the supply of employment opportunities. To achieve that end, more basic policy changes will be required.[113]

In other words, contrary to what Foster is suggesting, one cannot restructure the educational system without simultaneously restructuring the economic and social structure in order to solve the unemployment problem. The strategies in socialist societies such as Cuba, China and Tanzania to do just this seems to be yielding encouraging results.

Conclusion

It would therefore appear that given a situation in which many Third World countries continue to be subjected to various types of exploitation both from sources that are external as well as internal to those countries, the problems of educational inflation, chronic unemployment and underdevelopment are likely to persist. So long as many Third World countries continue to serve as Peripheries to various Metropolitan Centres in the context of dependent capitalism, the pressing problems confronting Third World nations are likely to continue and even increase. So long as there is a strong Centre-Periphery type of relationship within Third World countries, internal exploitation of the many by the few would negate egalitarian goals and would prevent attempts at uniting and motivating all classes and groups in attempting to solve the chronic problems of these countries.

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CHAPTER II

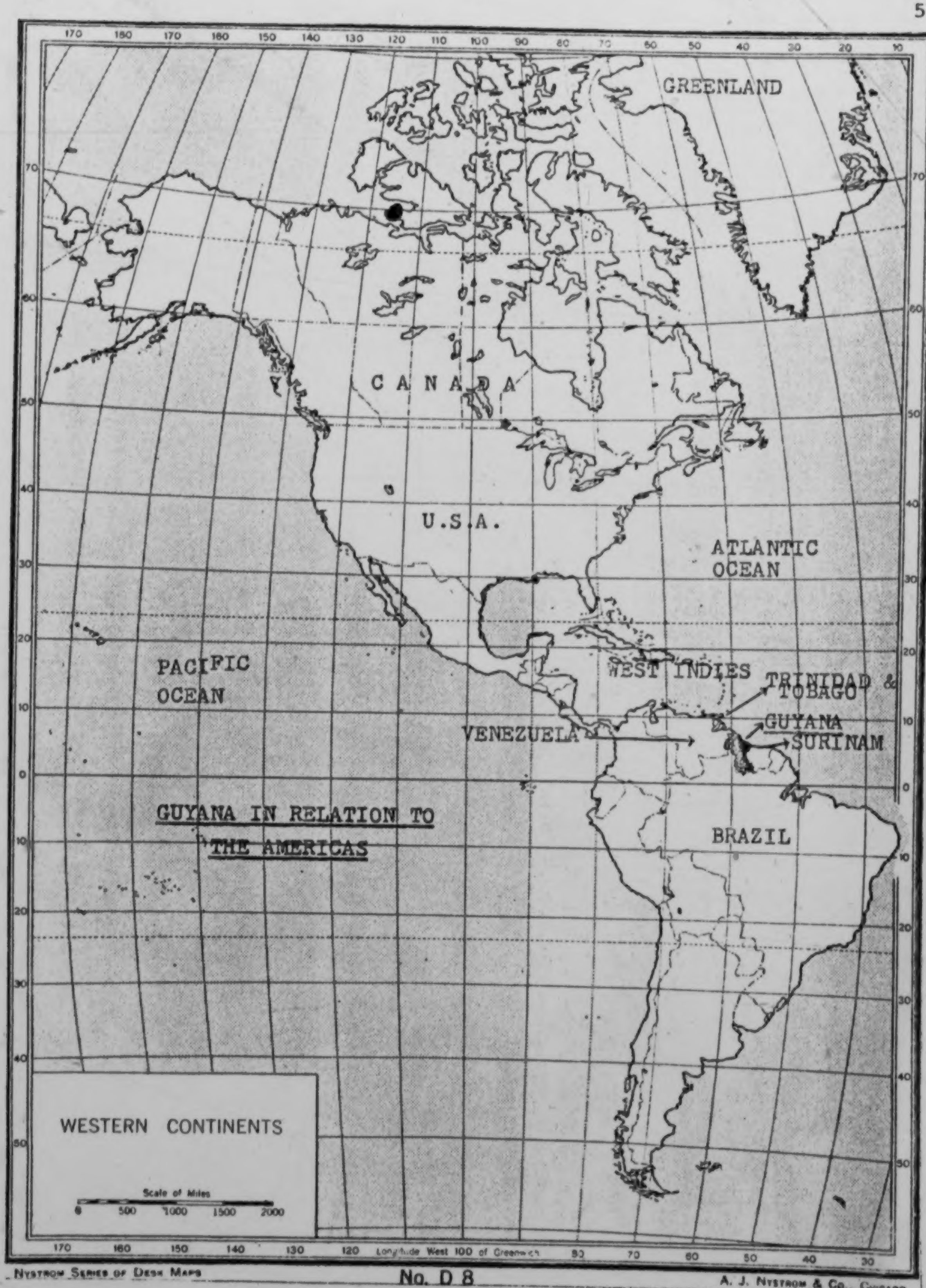
EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN GUYANA— A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THESIS PLAN

In Chapter I the problem of education, unemployment and mobility was dealt with critically at a broad or general level. In this chapter an attempt is made to indicate the ways in which this researcher will examine the problem, using the specific case of Guyana, a developing or Third World country. (The accompanying maps show the geographical location of the country.)

The Guyanese Context

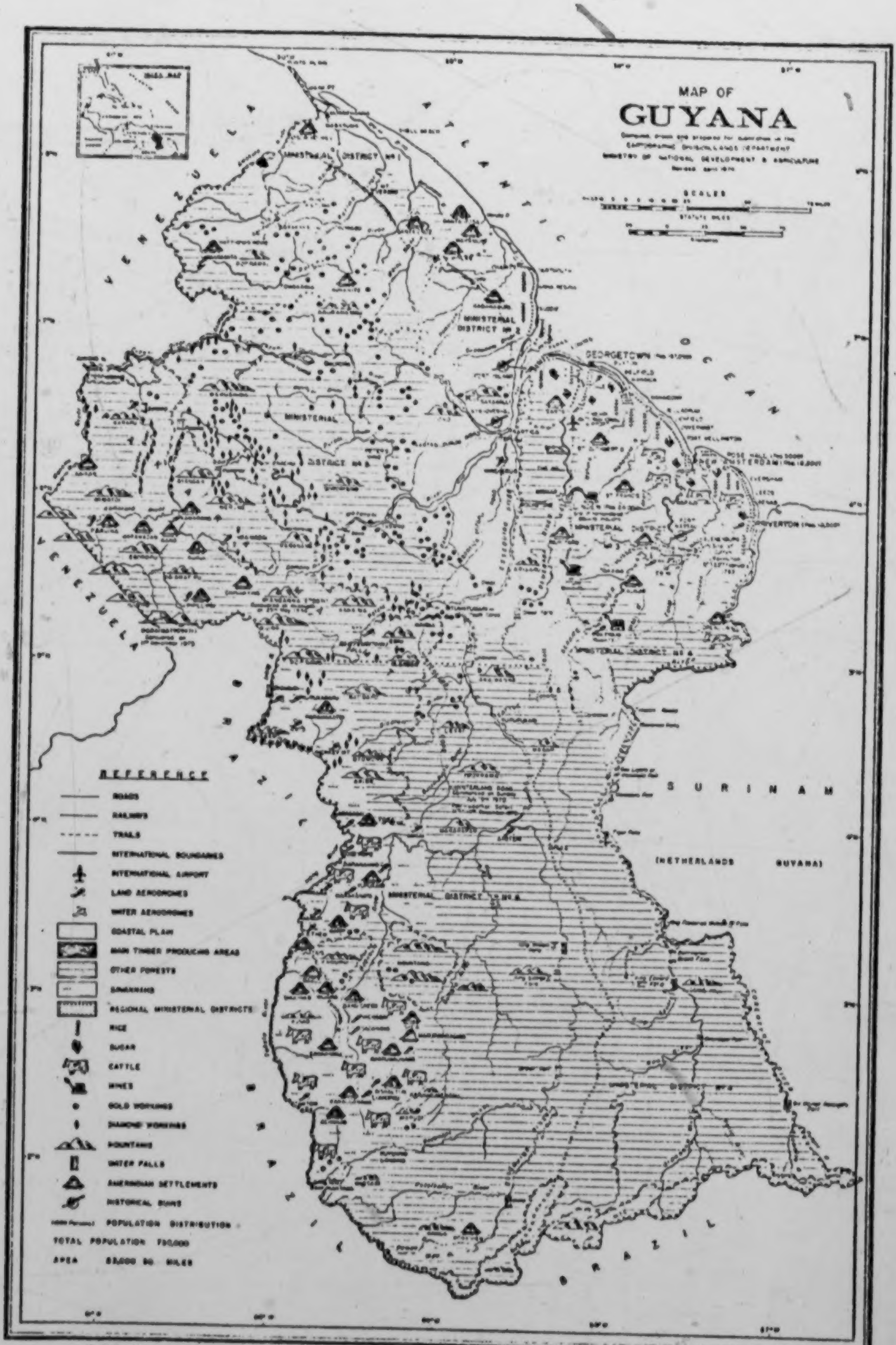
The problems that Guyana experiences are similar to those of other Third World nations. Guyana is characterised as a plantation economy[1] with a low level of diversification. The economy is a primary producing and export-oriented one, this being a pattern since the country became a British colonial possession (and hence a Periphery to the British Metropolitan Centre) in 1803. A marked feature of the society is chronic unemployment. In addition, the society is characterised by extremely high educational and occupational aspirations and expectations by Guyanese.[2]

In the present context of chronic unemployment, the rate of which exceeds 22 per cent of the labour force,



GUYANA IN RELATION TO THE AMERICAS

GREENLAND
CANADA
U.S.A.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
WEST INDIES
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO
GUYANA
SURINAM
VENEZUELA
BRAZIL
WESTERN CONTINENTS
Scale of Miles
0 500 1000 1500 2000
Longitude West 100 of Greenwich
Nystrom Series of Desk Maps
No. D 8
A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago


MAP OF
GUYANA
Compiled, drawn and prepared for reproduction in the Cartographic Division, Lands Department
Ministry of National Development & Agriculture
Revised April 1970
SCALES
STATUTE MILES
KILOMETRES
INDEX MAP
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
VENEZUELA
VENEZUELA
SURINAM
(NETHERLANDS GUYANA)
BRAZIL
BRAZIL
GEORGETOWN
NEW AMSTERDAM
ROSE HALL
CORRIVERTON
MINISTERIAL DISTRICT No 1
MINISTERIAL DISTRICT No 2
MINISTERIAL DISTRICT No 3
MINISTERIAL DISTRICT No 4
MINISTERIAL DISTRICT No 5
MINISTERIAL DISTRICT No 6
REFERENCE
ROADS
RAILWAYS
TRAILS
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
LAND AERODROMES
WATER AERODROMES
COASTAL PLAIN
MAIN TIMBER PRODUCING AREAS
OTHER FORESTS
SAVANNAHS
REGIONAL MINISTERIAL DISTRICTS
RICE
SUGAR
CATTLE
MINES
GOLD WORKINGS
DIAMOND WORKINGS
MOUNTAINS
WATER FALLS
AMERINDIAN SETTLEMENTS
HISTORICAL RUINS
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
TOTAL POPULATION 750,000
AREA 83,000 SQ. MILES

Guyanese continue to entertain extremely high but realistic aspirations and expectations for education that would qualify them for jobs in the modern sector of the economy. Over time, a disjunction has developed between Guyanese' aspirations and expectations on the one hand, and the ability of the economy to generate enough jobs in the modern sector to satisfy Guyanese' aspirations and expectations, on the other hand.

The evidence indicates that under colonial rule in Guyana, the unemployment problem in the modern and service sectors of the economy[3] was never allowed to get out of hand since the White ruling elite (which comprised the colonial government and the White planter class) controlled both the supply of schooling as well as the supply of jobs in the modern and service sectors. The ruling elite was able to do this by making sure that the educational system would reproduce the social structure. Thus only specific individuals and groups were given access to certain levels of education that would qualify them for specific types of jobs in the occupational structure. In this way the occupational demands of the disadvantaged groups were channelled to lower level clerical and white collar jobs while the occupational demands of the advantaged groups were channelled towards the topmost occupational positions in the society.

From the 1940's onwards, increased political power was gradually transferred to the representatives of the broad masses. This gradual transfer of power was preceded by and was mainly the result of political mobilisation of the Guyanese masses aimed not only at emancipation from colonial political control but from social inequalities and economic exploitation inherent in Guyanese social structure. Hence as political strictures underwent changes the social stratification system became gradually less rigid, permitting increased occupational and social mobility. More educational and job opportunities began to open up for Guyanese who in turn began to demand increased and varied education in order to continue to become occupationally mobile in the modern and service sectors of the economy.

Political Independence and the Increase in Educational Demand

Since the colonial power officially departed from the Guyanese scene in May 1966 when the colony was granted its political independence, problems such as increased rates of unemployment and a 'stagnant economy' have deepened. In addition, Guyanese have been making ever increasing demands for all types of education. This can be seen from the enrolment pattern in various educational institutions in the society. While Guyanese have been demanding increased and varied education, they appear to have been making a realistic assessment of the job market by continuing to aspire, as in colonial times, for the more financially rewarding, prestigious and secure jobs in the modern and service sectors—jobs that are scarce or non-existent.

Successive mass elected governments have succeeded largely in meeting Guyanese' demands for education but not for jobs (a similar theoretical point made by Bhagwati and dealt with in Chapter I). Governments have catered to educational demands at great cost and at the expense of the more productive development of other sectors of the economy. A corresponding increase in job opportunities, however, has not been realised since the economy has remained a neocolonial one[4] (at least up until the 1970's) characterised by dependent capitalism and exploited by various Metropoles in a Centre-Periphery type of relationship. Little has been done to change the overwhelming discrepancies in the wage and income differentials between those working in the modern and service sectors and those working in the non-modern sector of the economy. Instead of attempting to radically restructure and reorient an economic and social structure inherited from colonialism, successive governments seemed to have fuelled the disjunction between aspirations and the economy by adopting measures of expediency in expanding the service sector in an effort to create quick jobs in the short run for the rapidly expanding labour force.

It should be pointed out that, especially since the early 1970's, the present government (P.N.C.) has been taking important steps to nationalise all major expatriates' concerns in an apparent effort to sever the links of dependency with the industrialised countries. Added to this is the move by the government to establish state control of the educational system, the creation of new local institutions such as the Cooperative Bank, National Insurance Scheme and National Service, and the embarking on various infrastructural developments such as roads, electricity, etc. These measures, however, have failed to solve the chronic problems facing the society.

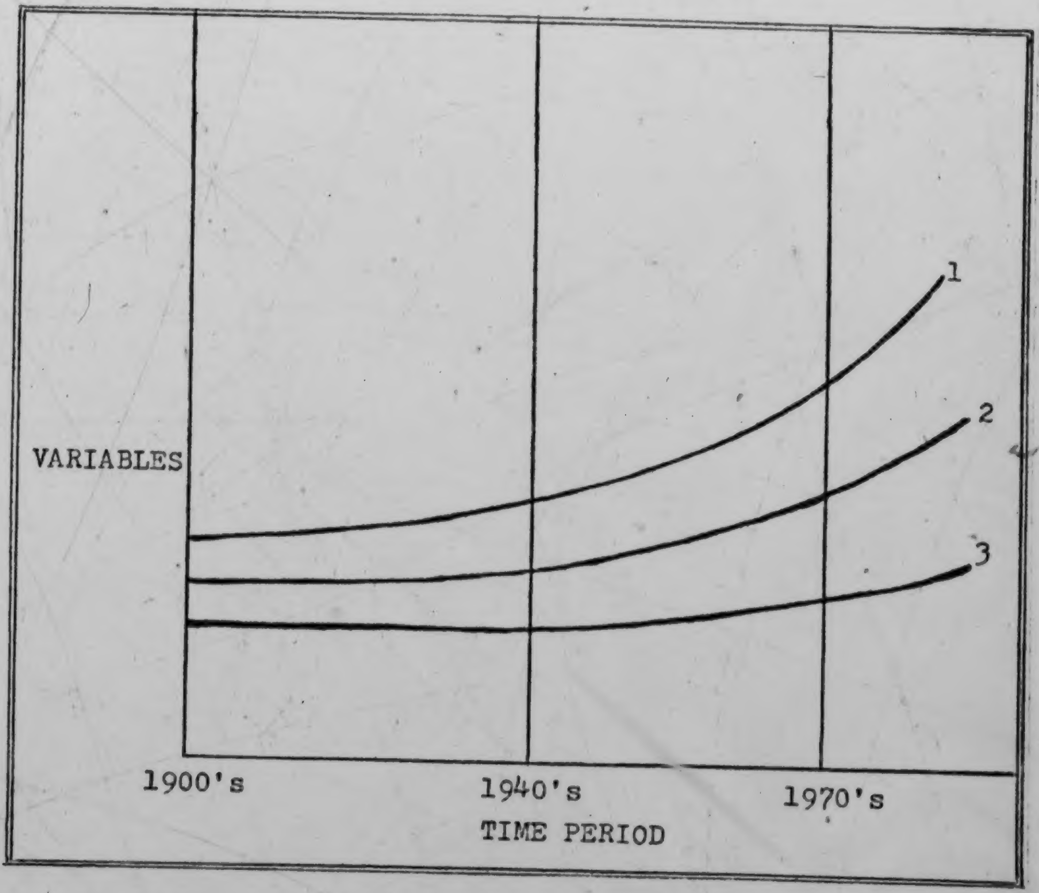
Specific Problem Being Studied

Be as it may, the hypothesis or speculation entertained by this researcher about the society as at 1977, is represented by Figure 1 which is a free hand illustration of Guyanese' aspirations in relation to the society's occupational structure. The main point which the figure attempts to illustrate is that under colonial rule up until the 1940's, 1, 2 and 3 more or less paralleled each other. After this period, 1 and 2 continued to parallel each other to a large extent but an increasing gap began to develop between 1 and 2 on the one hand and 3 on the other hand.

This study is therefore designed to test the hypothesis or speculation illustrated by Figure 1. An

FIGURE 1

FREE HAND ILLUSTRATION OF GUYANESE' ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE



Note: 1 denotes educational and occupational aspirations.
2 denotes educational opportunities.
3 denotes jobs in the modern sector of the economy.

attempt is made to do the following:

(a) Examine the extent to which Guyanese' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations are high or 'unrealistic' in relation to the opportunity or job structure of the society.

(b) Provide an explanation for the apparent disjunction between aspirations and expectations and the economy.

The two aspects of the Guyanese problem being studied are interrelated and underpinned by the fundamental problem of chronic unemployment which in turn is related to the problem of underdevelopment in the context of exploitation and dependency within the world capitalist framework.

The above approach is by no means a unique one. Paul Baran,[5] for instance, in his study of colonial India has shown how the Indian economy and society were integrated into the international capitalist system, how the attempt was made especially by the British colonial power to prevent the Indian economy and society from developing and regenerating, the manner in which there was a wholesale seizure of Indian land for capitalist production for exports and the opening up of the Indian domestic market to imported manufactures. Similarly, Colin Leys' study[6] of Kenya shows how the colonial economy was firmly controlled by a coalition of the White settlers and foreign interests and how the transition from colonialism to neocolonialism was a planned process, aimed at preserving the greater part of the monopolistic colonial economic structure in the interests of large-scale commercial, financial and estate capital. This objective was to be achieved through the working out of certain compromises with the nationalist leaders of Kenya. Finally, Andre Gunder Frank's study[7] of exploitation within the context of the international capitalist framework in Latin America, is yet another example of a study which uses the approach which is intended to be used in our study.

The problem of chronic unemployment in Guyana appears to have the following main dimensions:

(a) Open unemployment—when there is an overall difference between the total supply and demand for labour; for instance, when it is stated that the unemployment rate in Guyana is over 22 per cent, this figure refers to open unemployment.

(b) Specific unemployment—Guyanese who more or less aim to obtain varied educational qualifications in order to secure specific jobs in the modern and service sectors of the economy. In this case there is an apparent oversupply of educated individuals, especially at the primary and secondary levels, in relation to the number of jobs available in the modern and service sectors. At other higher educational levels, the problem of educational inflation and devaluation (not educated unemployment) becomes relevant in the Guyanese context.

Again, the two types of unemployment are noted separately only for analytical purposes because this study will focus mainly on the second type, i.e., specific unemployment.

Theoretical Framework of This Study

While in Chapter I an attempt is made to critically examine the theories, ideas and arguments usually advanced in connection with the problem of education, unemployment and mobility in the Third World generally, in this chapter the theoretical discussion is carried a step further in order to develop a theoretical framework suitable for studying the above problem specifically in relation to Guyana.

The problem is examined in a general social science theoretical framework derived from Marx and referred to as Dynamic Structuralism.[8] In contrast to Structural Functionalism usually associated with theorists such as Radcliffe Brown, Durkheim, Malinowski, Merton and Parsons, Dynamic Structuralism is a conflict approach to the study of society. This approach has two basic assumptions: The first is that social structures develop in such a way as to benefit some groups at the expense of others. Thus the social structure is characterised by potential conflict which originates from within the social structure itself.[9] The second assumption is that one can only understand intergroup relationships by examining intergroup interaction processes over time. From so doing one is able to ascertain the principles by which a particular society is organised, its social structure and the pressures for social change.[10] Examples of theorists who could be said to use the dynamic structuralist approach include Randall Collins[11] and Archer and Vaughan[12] who use the approach with specific reference to education, and Gunder Frank and Martin Carnoy who use the approach in relation to macro social problems.

The three sets of theoretical ideas and arguments used to explain the Guyanese problem—the ideas of Frank and Carnoy; the views of Edwards, Todaro and Bhagwati; and the arguments of M. G. Smith—all have one quality in common: They are conflict based, satisfying the two underlying assumptions of Dynamic Structuralism. Since these three sets of theories and arguments are also interrelated and complementary, they are easily integrated into the general theoretical framework. For the purpose of analysis of the data, however, the three sets of theoretical ideas and arguments are treated separately because each set focusses on the explanation of a particular dimension of the Guyanese problem. For instance, the ideas of Frank and Carnoy help to explain mainly the causes of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment in the economy and society. Edwards, Todaro and Bhagwati focus mainly on the reasons for educational inflation and qualification escalation. The views of M. G. Smith, R. T. Smith and Leo

Despres help explain the dynamics of inter-group relations in the society. Stated diagramatically, the theoretical framework is represented by Figure 2.

In order to give the reader a clearer perspective of the focus of each set of theoretical ideas and arguments, the following represents a brief elucidation:

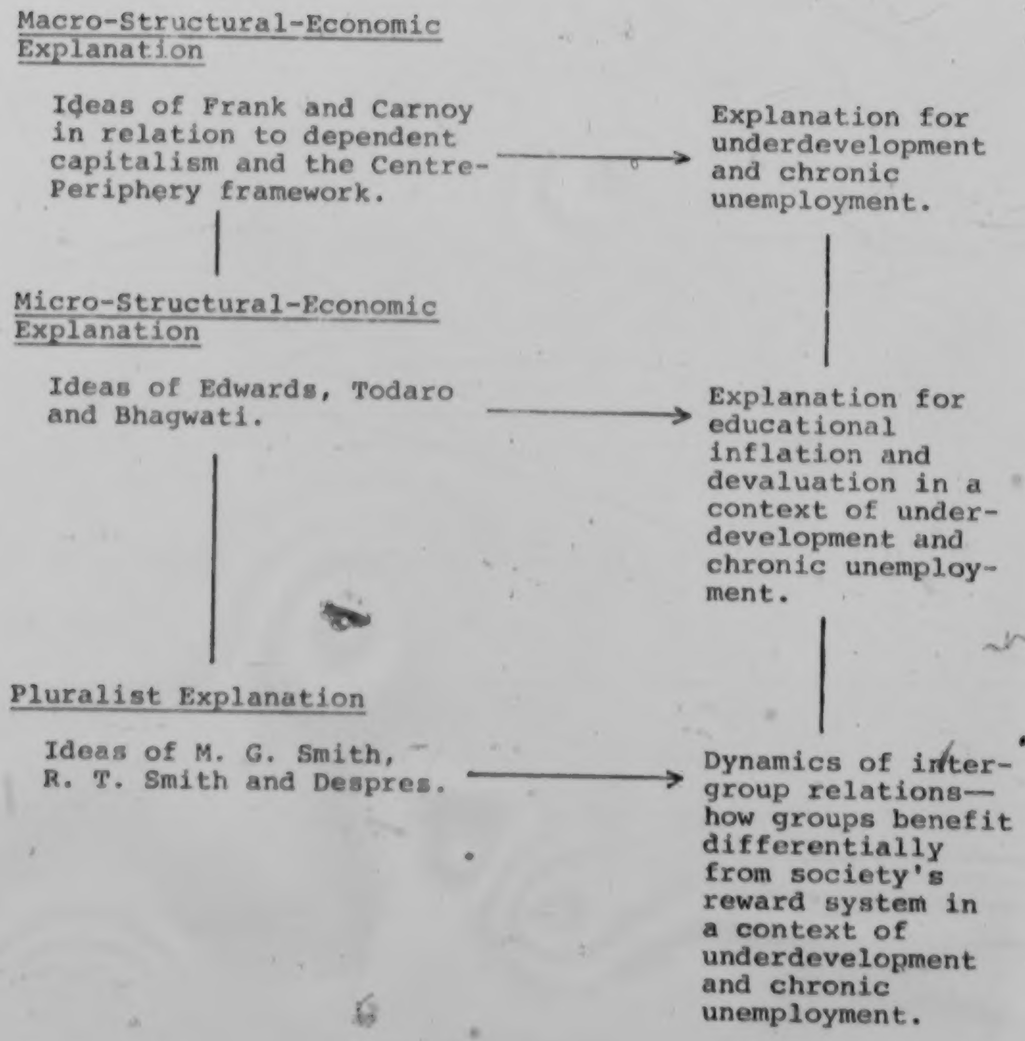
1. Macro-Structural-Economic Explanation—
   the theoretical ideas of Frank and Carnoy

Frank's and Carnoy's ideas appear to be relevant in explaining the economic and social structure which developed in Guyana as a consequence of its colonial and neocolonial relationship with Britain and other countries of the industrialised world. Through the frameworks of Frank and Carnoy one can examine the extent to which the Guyanese economy and society have played the role of a satellite or Periphery to the 'developed' nations, the extent to which a Metropole-satellite or Centre-Periphery relationship has existed (and continue to exist) within the economy and society, and the nature and kinds of dependency relationships that the Guyanese economy and society have had (and continue to have) with various Metropoles or Centres. In addition, Carnoy's ideas on capitalism appear to be relevant in explaining why the Guyanese economy has been a relatively stagnant one, why it is dualistic, why the modern sector is capital intensive and why the society is characterised by chronic unemployment and underdevelopment.

FIGURE 2

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF

'DYNAMIC STRUCTURALISM'



Macro-Structural-Economic Explanation

Ideas of Frank and Carnoy in relation to dependent capitalism and the Centre-Periphery framework.

Explanation for underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

Micro-Structural-Economic Explanation

Ideas of Edwards, Todaro and Bhagwati.

Explanation for educational inflation and devaluation in a context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

Pluralist Explanation

Ideas of M. G. Smith, R. T. Smith and Despres.

Dynamics of inter-group relations— how groups benefit differentially from society's reward system in a context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

2. Micro-Structural-Economic Explanation— the ideas of Edwards, Todaro and Bhagwati

As already mentioned in Chapter I, these theorists take the chronic unemployment situation as a 'given' and then proceed to show what factors lead to educational inflation, devaluation and qualification escalation in Third World countries. In the Guyanese context, the ideas of Edwards, Todaro and Bhagwati should help explain why an 'educational explosion' is taking place in the society and why the educational and occupational aspirations of Guyanese are geared to the modern and service sectors of the economy. In addition, Bhagwati's ideas should help explain the circumstances under which different groups are enjoying differential access to the society's educational and occupational opportunities.

3. The 'Pluralist' Explanation—the ideas of M. G. Smith, R. T. Smith and Leo Despres

The Pluralist argument of M. G. Smith, R. T. Smith and Leo Despres assumes that the society more or less is comprised of several sub-societies, held together mainly by political and economic relations between these sub-societies or cultural sections and dominated by one cultural section using force or threatening to use force.

The 'Pluralist' explanation is expected to provide some insights into the dynamics of inter-group relations in the context of chronic unemployment and underdevelopment by trying to account for the reasons for the patterns of aspirational and expectational levels of the various groups; by showing why certain groups are more educationally and occupationally mobile than others; by explaining why certain groups perceive more barriers to mobility than others; and by indicating the implications of all these situations for the problem being studied.

Research Methodology

This study makes use of both documentary sources of information and original field data. The documentary sources, located mainly in Guyana, are drawn from the Social Sciences and take various forms such as books, articles, official documents, theses and newspapers. The research task in relation to the documentary sources has been to seek out relevant material and interpret these from the theoretical perspective used in this study.

The original field data have been obtained from 366 survey type questionnaires administered to adolescents attending Government Junior and Senior Secondary Schools.[13] Through the various questions asked of adolescents, information has been collected in connection with what this researcher has termed a 'mobility syndrome.'

After permission had been obtained from the Ministry of Education and Social Development in Guyana to conduct the research in schools, a random cluster sample was drawn from among adolescents (taken to represent students between 12 and 19 years of age) from the Form Five of Government Junior and Senior Secondary Schools. While according to W. M. Harper: "A random sample is a sample selected in such a way that every item in the population has an equal chance of being included,"[14] the sample selected for this study is not random in the strict sense described by Harper. It is neither a purposive sample since with the exception of Queen's College and Berbice High School, two of the Government Senior Secondary Schools that were deliberately selected, the remaining schools represent a random sample.

This sampling technique ensured that schools were selected from the main geographical areas of the country and that different social class and ethnic groups were incorporated into the sample.

A point that has to be emphasized, however, is that while the sample might be a fair reflection of the secondary school population, the sample is certainly not representative of the school age population (12-18 years) as a whole. In other words, adolescents comprising the sample are those who have entered the secondary school system through one of the three selection examinations.

The questionnaire consisting of both closed-ended and open-ended questions (Appendix 1) was administered to Form Five children of each selected school. In cases where there were more than one Form Five in a particular school, only the children of one Form Five selected at random, were requested to complete the questionnaire. All students filled in the questionnaires simultaneously, answering one question at a time, under the guidance of this researcher who called out the questions. In this manner queries were answered on the spot, independent responses were assured and at the end of approximately 40 minutes this researcher was able to collect all questionnaires from a particular school. A total of 320 questionnaires were obtained through this method.

The above method had to be modified in the case of schools in the interior regions of the country because of these schools' inaccessibility and this researcher's lack of time to travel extensively. A total of 65 questionnaires accompanied by specific instructions and guidelines for teachers who would supervise the completing of these questionnaires, were mailed to three government secondary schools in the interior (Appendix 2). The questionnaires were duly completed and returned to this researcher through the mail. A total of 46 completed questionnaires were received.

The questionnaire itself was designed to obtain at least two main types of social-psychological data in connection with adolescents' educational and occupational mobility attitudes. The first type of questions sought to obtain information about respondents' backgrounds—their sex, age, residence, schools attended, ethnicity, father's education, father's occupation, etc. This information was needed for the purpose of crosstabulating various variables.

The second type of questions represented the bulk of the questionnaire and focussed on what this researcher terms the 'mobility syndrome' of adolescents. Discussed in much greater detail in Chapter V, the mobility syndrome refers to a concurring aggregate of factors representing the patterns of educational and occupational mobility attitudes of the sample of adolescents. An examination of the questionnaire data in relation to the mobility syndrome showed that the following three sets of variables could be identified for the purpose of analysing the Guyanese problem being studied: (The questions in the questionnaire applicable to each of these variables are noted in parentheses.)

1. The Independent Variables
    - (a) Residence (C)
    - (b) Sex (A)
    - (c) Social Class (father's education (F) combined in a specific manner with father's job (G))
    - (d) Ethnicity (E)
2. The Dependent Variables
    - (a) Educational aspirations (I)
    - (b) Educational expectations (J)
    - (c) Occupational aspirations (K)

(d) Occupational expectations (M)

3. Intervening Variables

(a) Parental occupational aspirations (O)

(b) Perception of the social structure (a new variable constructed by combining N, W and Y)

(c) Inclination to emigrate (U)

The independent variables, the intervening variables and the dependent variables comprising the mobility syndrome are posited to be interrelated.

The questionnaires were all coded at the University of Alberta where with the assistance of the SPSS computer package (subprogramme CROSSTABS) the data were cross tabulated and analysed.

It should be pointed out that this researcher made another field trip to Guyana between June 23 and August 6, 1977. The main aims were to collect additional data from documentary sources, interview certain top decision makers in the society and assess the implications of the most recent political, economic and social changes taking place in the society in relation to the Guyanese problem being studied.

The reader's attention should also be drawn to the fact that throughout this study the 'percentage' as an analytical statistic is used in preference to other statistics such as regression analysis, Pearson r, etc. The reasons for using percentages are that they are simple to use, they tell us more or less the same things as other statistics such as regression analysis and Pearson r and they highlight the various relationships in terms of the problem being studied, quite clearly.

Thesis Plan

In order to give the reader an idea of how this thesis 'hangs together' and what to expect in each of the chapters, the following represents a plan of the thesis:

Chapter I is entitled: INTRODUCTION: EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN THE THIRD WORLD. This introductory chapter attempts to review the literature in a critical manner. An effort is made to indicate the extent and seriousness of the unemployment problem in the Third World, the interrelationship between education, unemployment and mobility, and the various theories, arguments, ideas, etc., usually advanced by social scientists to account for the chronic unemployment problem. The broad aim of this chapter, therefore, is to give the reader a brief and up to date idea of the orientation of this study.

Chapter II is entitled: EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN GUYANA—A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THESIS PLAN. The aim here is to give the reader a clear idea of how this researcher would proceed to examine the problem of education, unemployment and mobility, using Guyana, an emergent nation, as a case study. After briefly reviewing the problem in the Guyanese context, the aim would be to apprise the reader of the methodology used in this study, clarify certain concepts used in this thesis, and describe what aspects of the problem would be dealt with in each of the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

Chapter III is entitled: A REVIEW OF THE GUYANESE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FROM EARLY COLONIAL TIMES TO THE 1940'S. An attempt is made in this chapter to examine the type of economy, society and educational system which developed in Guyana from the time various Metropoles, particularly Britain, became involved in the country. The analysis is expected to show that the economy and society cast early in the role of a Periphery, developed the social and structural features that have made the economy and society an exploited and underdeveloped one in which chronic unemployment is a marked feature. The analysis is also expected to show how the educational system developed under colonialism, served the needs of the colonial power which by exercising rigid control over the supply of schooling as well as the supply of jobs in the modern sector of the economy, was able to keep the unemployment problem under control.

Chapter IV is entitled: A REVIEW OF THE GUYANESE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FROM THE 1940'S TO THE 1970'S. This chapter traces the changes that have occurred in the economy, society and educational system from the 1940's to the 1970's. An attempt is made to show that while Guyana did not face the problem of 'over-education' or chronic unemployment in the modern sector under colonial rule, these problems began to assume prominence as Guyanese themselves gradually began to assume political control of the society from the 1940's onwards. The analysis will show that from the 1940's, the social stratification system gradually became less rigid permitting increased educational and occupational mobility by Guyanese. This situation in turn precipitated increased demands for education that have resulted in an 'educational explosion.' The economy, in contrast, has remained a colonial and neocolonial one (at least up until the 1970's) expanding but slowly and lacking the capacity to cater to the demands of a rapidly expanding labour force. This chapter also briefly examines the implications of the government's determination to turn Guyana into a socialist state. Attention is drawn to efforts being made in this direction—nationalising the 'commanding heights of the economy,' state control of education, national service, etc.

Chapter V is entitled: THE 'MOBILITY SYNDROME' OF GUYANESE ADOLESCENTS: AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE GUYANESE PROBLEM. In Chapters III and IV analysis of historical and social structural data on Guyana is undertaken to examine the incidence of high levels of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations in the face of high levels of unemployment coupled with stagnant growth in the modern sector of the economy. In this chapter data on the social-psychological correlates of these historical and structural conditions are analysed in order to study the nature of the relationship between the structural and the social-psychological processes and between these sets of data and the phenomena identified as the major problem. In order to achieve the above objective, the attempt is made to analyse data on the 'mobility syndrome' of a sample of 366 Guyanese adolescents attending government secondary schools.

The findings of this chapter are therefore expected to throw more light and explore the problem being studied from a different perspective. Among other things, the findings should indicate the following:

(a) The levels of aspirations and expectations that adolescents have and how these vary in relation to the four independent variables.

(b) The particular interconnections, linkages, etc., between the dependent and independent variables suggesting certain specific trends. For instance, do those adolescents who have the highest occupational aspirations, belong to the high S.E.S. category, are males and are probably also Africans and Coloureds?

(c) What mediating effect (if any) do the intervening variables have on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

These findings are expected not only to provide supporting evidence for the arguments based on the structural analysis of the previous chapters but through the complementing of these two different sources of data it is hoped to provide an empirical explanation for the problem being studied.

Chapter VI is entitled: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE FINDINGS. This summarising chapter relates to the data of this study. An attempt is made to integrate the findings by doing the following: First, an effort is made to show how the structural and social-psychological analyses of this study are complementary. Second, an explanation for the disjunction between aspirations/ expectations and the occupational structure, is reviewed. Third, the official (governmental) and individual responses developed in the society to deal with the problem of the disjunction, are discussed. Fourth, the political implications of these responses are analysed. Fifth, the role of education in class formation and the emergence of the bureaucratic-administrative elite in the society, is examined. Finally, some concluding remarks are made in connection with the role of education in modernization and economic development in the context of the findings of this study.

Chapter VII is entitled: CONCLUSION: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF DYNAMIC STRUCTURALISM. The main concern in this chapter is to examine the extent to which the theoretical framework used in this study—

referred to as Dynamic Structuralism—has been useful for analysing the Guyanese problem studied—the persistence of high educational and occupational aspirations and expectations in the face of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment. This chapter which is basically a theoretical one, aims to critically evaluate the theoretical framework, pointing out its limitations, thereby helping to provide some refinement to the original framework used.

Thus as the reader would readily observe, this thesis is grounded in and has to be viewed within the context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment in the Third World. Educational and occupational aspirations and expectations also have to be viewed in this context since these are directly related to the nature of the Third World economy and society.

References and Notes

1. George Beckford, Persistent Poverty, O.U.P., 1972.

2. Educational and occupational aspirations are taken to mean, for instance, the type of education or occupation an adolescent would like to have or wishes to have. By educational and occupational expectations, on the other hand, one means the type of education or occupation the adolescent really expects to have in social reality. An individual would probably wish to have a university education but after viewing his financial circumstances, family background, etc., he would probably expect to have only a technical or vocational education. In other words, it is assumed here that social reality would temper one's view of one's life chances, hence expectations would be lower than aspirations.

3. In the context of Guyana the modern and service sectors are usually treated separately for analytical purposes though in fact the modern sector includes services. The service sector comprises various services such as education, health, government departments, communication, transport, etc., and may be regarded as the infrastructures of the society. The modern sector, of course, is the manufacturing and industrial sector of the economy characterised mainly by the capitalist mode of production until quite recently in Guyana. In this study, therefore, 'modern and service sectors' would each be treated separately for the purpose of analysis.

4. Philip G. Altbach points out that neocolonialism has to do with the impact of advanced nations on developing countries. According to Altbach: "Modern neocolonialism differs from traditional colonialism in that it does not involve direct political control, leaving substantial leeway to the developing country. It is similar, nevertheless, in that some aspects of domination by the advanced nation over the developing country remain. Neocolonialism is partly a planned policy of advanced nations to maintain their influence in developing countries, but it is also simply a continuation of past practices." Philip G. Altbach, "Education and Neocolonialism." Teachers College Record, May 1971, Vol. 72, No. 4. The point to note about Altbach's definition is its similarity to the ideas of Gunder Frank and Martin Carnoy. The 'Metropolis-satellite' framework of Frank and the Centre-Periphery framework of Carnoy both refer to

the neocolonial society as defined by Altbach.

5. Paul A. Baran, The Political Economy of Growth. New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1968.

6. Colin Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya. London: Hinemann, 1975.

7. Andre Gunder Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution. New York: Monthly Review, 1969.

8. M. A. Coulson and David S. Riddell, Approaching Sociology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.

9. Loc. cit.

10. Loc. cit.

11. Randall Collins, "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification." American Sociological Review, vol. 36, no. 6, December 1971.

12. M. S. Archer and M. Vaughan, "Domination and Assertion in Educational Systems." In Earl Hopper (ed.), Readings in the Theory of Educational Systems. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1971.

13. See Chapter V for reasons regarding why this particular sample has been chosen.

14. W. M. Harper, Statistics. Macdonald & Evans Ltd., 1971.

CHAPTER III

A REVIEW OF THE GUYANESE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FROM EARLY COLONIAL TIMES TO THE 1940'S

An attempt is made in this chapter to examine the type of economy, society and educational system which developed in Guyana from the period various Metropoles, particularly Britain, became involved in the country. This period covers from circa 1834 to circa 1947 which represents the height of the colonial era in Guyana. It will be shown that the economy and society cast early in the role of a Periphery, characterised by various dependency relationships with Metropolitan Britain and integrated within the framework of international capitalism, developed the social and structural features that have made the economy and society an underdeveloped and exploited one in which chronic unemployment is a marked feature. Furthermore, it will be shown that the educational system which developed under colonialism served the needs of the colonial power which by exercising rigid control over the supply of education as well as the supply of jobs was able to keep the unemployment problem in the modern sector under control.

Early Colonization

European interest in the Caribbean and Guyana began in 1595 with Sir Walter Raleigh's unsuccessful attempts to find the mythical golden city of El Dorado. Raleigh's fictitious accounts, including the one of seeing local inhabitants 'whose heads were beneath their shoulders,' stimulated further explorations by European adventurers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These explorations coincided with rivalry among the foremost European powers such as Spain, France, England, Holland and Portugal in an age pervaded by the mercantilist philosophy. This philosophy was expressed in the growing need by European powers to colonise 'backward peoples' and seek ways to become increasingly powerful. The age "was characterised by an aggressive desire among rulers to effect a maximum extension of territory under their sovereignity or of resources under their absolute control."[1] An important aspect of mercantilist thinking was that increased power led to increased wealth and that it was therefore necessary to control the seas and key possessions overseas in order to protect and strengthen the power and wealth of the mother country.

A keen rivalry developed among the foremost European powers in the rush to acquire territory in the Caribbean and other parts of the now underdeveloped world. This rush has resulted in the 'political balkanisation' of the

Caribbean area and the early history of Guyana represents a microcosm of the rivalries among the various European powers. Guyana was first colonised by the Dutch in 1616 but the colony 'changed hands' several times being under the control at various periods of the French as well as the British, finally passing under British control in 1803.

The Dutch were the first European colonising power to actually develop and exploit Guyana for their economic and political gain. The Dutch settlers in Guyana united under the Dutch West India Company which secured a charter from the Dutch government in 1621. This charter gave the Company control over the colony of Essequibo (the largest of the three counties in Guyana at present). By 1624 the Dutch established control over the colony of Berbice (the second largest of the three counties in Guyana today) and by 1773, the Dutch constituted Essequibo, Demerara (at present the smallest and most populous county) and Berbice as independent colonies.[2]

Initially, the Dutch settlers bartered with the Amerindians, Guyana's indigenous inhabitants, exchanging axes, beads, trinkets and other trivia for cotton, dyes and letterwood. Bartering, however, was too small-scale in scope so the settlers turned to agriculture, developing the cultivation of cotton, tobacco and coffee on a plantation basis. As cultivation expanded the need for an increased amount of unskilled labour grew. Dutch labourers were tried but they objected to the hard, manual labour. Next, the Dutch planters enslaved the Amerindians and put them to work in the plantations. The Amerindians, however, began to die off rapidly so the scheme was stopped.

The labour problem was solved by the beginning of the eighteenth century when the Dutch planters began importing African slave labour on a large scale. At this time, too, cotton, tobacco and coffee production suffered a decline and sugar production became increasingly significant. Coinciding with these changes was the impact which the dynamic Dutch commander—Laurens Storm Vans Gravesande—had on expansion in the colonies when in 1746 he declared Demerara open to settlement offering new settlers a ten year exemption from poll tax and 250 acres of land.[3] This invitation attracted many English settlers from nearby Barbados and by 1760 the English were reported to be in the majority in Demerara.[4] By this time the colonies of Demerara and Essequibo had 4,000 slaves and 161 plantations while there were 3,833 African slaves in Berbice in 1762.[5]

In 1776 while the American colonies declared their War of Independence against the British, Britain was at war with Holland and as was the typical pattern for the colonies, Admiral Rodney captured the Dutch colonies in the West Indies and Guyana in 1781. These colonies were soon recaptured in 1782 by the French who were allies of the Dutch and at the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 the colonies were again returned to the Dutch.[6]

During the war of the French Revolution, Holland was defeated by France and became the Batavian Republic following which a British expeditionary force was sent from the colony of Barbados in 1796 to capture Guyana. The control of Guyana by the British from 1796 saw another influx of English settlers but following the Treaty of Amiens, Guyana was again handed over to the Dutch in 1802. With the renewal of the war, the colonies were recaptured by the British in 1803 even though the U.S.A. tried to assist the French by blockading the capital city in Demerara. By 1814, the three colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice were finally ceded to Britain. These colonies were united into a single colony called 'British Guiana' in 1831.

From this selective description of Guyana's early history one can see the beginnings of the Metropolitan-Hinterland or Centre-Periphery link between Guyana and the Metropole in which the colony is closely geared to the exclusive political and economic benefit of the particular Metropole that happens to control the colony. One notices intense rivalry among the various Metropoles for control of the Hinterland—in this case, Guyana. The various political, economic and social relationships which begin to develop are as a consequence of this Metropole-Hinterland arrangement pervaded by dominance of the Metropolitan power. The new society emerges out of a situation of exploitation and the economic, social and political patterns that begin to take shape are dictated by the nature of the Metropole-Hinterland relationship.

The Plantation System and Pluralism

It has been noted by George Beckford that the Metropolitan powers were generally involved in three kinds of colonization activities: Colonies were established on the basis of settlement, conquest and exploitation. Guyana, the West Indies and Southeast Asia were colonies of exploitation and the plantation was the institution best suited to Metropolitan requirements in colonies of exploitation.[7]

A plantation economy is one in which "the internal and external dimensions of the plantation system dominate the country's economic, social, and political structure and its relations with the rest of the world."[8] Guyana which began as a plantation society from the time of Metropolitan involvement is today still classified as one of 18 plantation economies in the Caribbean and Latin America.[9] Out of the total Guyanese population of 714,000, the plantation sector is said to account for 561,000 or 78.6 per cent of the population.[10] This illustrates the extent to which the society is pervaded by the plantation influence.

In order to examine the impact of the plantation system on Guyanese society attention should be drawn to a few important features of the plantation system in general.

Beckford observes that the plantation system, characterised by the capitalist mode of production, is part of the wider system of international capitalism which is located at the Metropolitan Centre far removed from the plantations. Decision making and effective control emanate from the Metropolitan Centre. Control may take a variety of forms such as property ownership, political connections of one kind or another which have an influence on prices and tariffs, financial control through the branch banking system, the specificity of raw material export to Metropolitan refining capacity, shipping, etc.[11] In short, as already pointed out in relation to the Centre-Periphery concept, present day control in the plantation economy of many countries (including Guyana at least up until 1976) is exercised in a number of indirect ways from the Metropolitan Centre. No longer is it necessary for the Metropole to be directly involved in the exploitation of the plantation society. In fact, the job of exploitation might be done by the Centre within the plantation economy itself.

According to Beckford, the plantation has been a modernizing influence in the sense that it 'opened up' previously undeveloped countries and regions. It brought roads, ports, water supplies, communications, health facilities, etc. It created social overhead capital and transformed subsistence economies into money economies.[12] However, while the plantation has been effective in transforming a state of undevelopment, it has been less effective in transforming a state of underdevelopment.[13] Plantation economies have remained underdeveloped because the plantations and mines which are important sources of income generation and potential engines of growth are in most instances owned by Metropolitan corporations.[14] The profit motive is the dominant theme in production within plantation society, since the plantation is a foreign owned, capitalist enterprise. Metropolitan corporations attempt to extract the maximum profits on their investments and are thus involved in developing the capitalist or modern sector of the economy while the non-modern sector is neglected or underdeveloped. Gunder Frank, for instance, in pointing to the pattern of U.S. investments in the Third World between 1950 and 1965, notes that the U.S. invested a total of (U.S.)$9 billion during this period but (U.S.)$25.6 billion profit capital flowed out from the Third World, for a net inflow from the poor to the rich of (U.S.)$16 billion.[15]

While Beckford's points in regard to the general features of plantation economies assume foreign ownership and control, the recent nationalisation of the sugar industry in Guyana by the government seems to have somewhat different implications for the economy and society. Since it is much too early to assess the implications and consequences of the government's take-over, at this point one can only make the following speculations:

1. If the government of Guyana should play the role of the Centre within the Periphery nation, then control of the sugar industry by the government should make little difference in terms of the welfare of the masses.

2. Assuming that the government is radically oriented and is interested in the economic and social development of the country, the government still has to face the oligopolistic practices of multinational corporations in an attempt to sell Guyanese sugar at a lucrative price on the world market.

3. Even if one assumes that the government is able to sell its sugar at competitive prices much will depend on how the profits are utilised to achieve rapid economic and social development of the society.

There is no doubt that the needs of the Metropole dictated the type of economy and society which gradually emerged over the centuries in Guyana. As Raymond T. Smith observes:

> It is clear . . . that economic factors have been of great importance in shaping the growth of Guyanese society. It was European capital and the existence of European markets for tropical produce that stimulated the creation of a new society on the South American mainland; it was in the plantation cultivation of sugar and other crops that Europeans, Africans, Indians, Portuguese and Chinese had their first contacts.[16]

In a similar manner Beckford points out that it was through the plantation system that different races of people from various parts of the world were brought to labour in the plantation's service, thus determining the population and social structures now found in these places.[17] According to Beckford: "Plantation society is a plural society"[18] in that it is comprised of different racial and cultural groups which are brought together only in the realm of economic activity. The economic factor provides the integrative element.[19]

Perhaps a brief elucidation of the 'plural society' controversy might be relevant at this point since many observers feel that Guyana was and continues to be a plural society. In addition, the concept has implications for political control and socio-cultural integration which are two important concerns of many Guyanese.

It was J. S. Furnivall, an economist and banker, who was the first to distinguish the plural society as a separate form of society. Regarding his observations of the Dutch colonial Far East, Furnivall pointed out:

> In Burma as in Java, probably the first thing that strikes the visitor is the medley of peoples—European, Chinese, Indian, and native. It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but they do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market-place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere, there is a division of labour along racial lines.[20]

The general features of Furnivall's model include the following:[21]

1. The plural society is a result of colonization.

2. The sections of the plural society are separate and are held together only by the dominant colonial power which has either abolished or drastically weakened the indigenous administrative system.

3. The sections of a plural society are defined in ethnic terms.

4. There is a lack of 'a common social will or social demand.' Each section has its own values and standards which do not extend across ethnic barriers. Social consensus is difficult, if not impossible to obtain. There are no agreed upon goals or common social or moral standards. Hence exploitation of one cultural section by another is rife.

5. The union cannot be dissolved without the whole society collapsing into anarchy.

According to Furnivall, then, the plural society is a highly segmented one, composed of several subsocieties, linked together by market relations and controlled by the colonial ruling class (assuming of course that the society is governed by a colonial power).

M. G. Smith adopted Furnivall's plural society concept as being appropriate in describing the plantation societies in the Caribbean and Guyana. M. G. Smith adopts an anthropological perspective in taking the Malinowskian position that social institutions are concrete isolates of organised behaviour and that each institution encompasses a supportive set of values, rules, activities, and social relations. M. G. Smith, after arguing that the core of a culture is its institutional system, proceeds to distinguish between alternative, exclusive and compulsory institutions. Alternative institutions are those shared by individuals by choice, e.g., private schools. Exclusive institutions are shared by individuals who belong to certain socially recognised categories, e.g., an occupational group. The basic or compulsory institutions, however, are those in which all members of a social unit must participate. Basic institutions comprise an integrated pattern embracing kinship, recreation, education, religion, property, economy, and certain sodalities,[22] e.g., religious associations.

M. G. Smith distinguishes three types of societies:

1. The homogeneous society is one in which all members share the same total institutional system. Small-scale and pre-literate societies would be the best examples of homogeneous societies.

2. The heterogeneous society is one in which groups within a political unit share the same system of basic or compulsory institutions but at the same time participate in alternative and exclusive institutions. Most modern societies are heterogeneous.

3. The plural society occurs when groups living in a single political unit participate in different systems of basic or compulsory institutions. The cultural plurality of the society usually corresponds to its social plurality and the culturally distinct units of the plural society are its cultural sections. These cultural sections are highly exclusive in the sense that each displays an area of common life beyond which relationships are specific, segmented and governed by economic and political considerations. Like Furnivall, M. G. Smith postulates that order within a plural society is maintained by the political dominance of one cultural section over the others. The best examples of plural societies are found among comparatively recent, ex-colonial societies.

One of the foremost critics of M. G. Smith is Raymond T. Smith, a structural-functionalist by orientation. He argues "that plural society theory has no real dynamic dimension, is essentially pessimistic and deals only with a very limited range of conflict situations."[23] Raymond Smith is of the view that:

> A central problem in the discussion of any social situation is whether one should emphasise stability, continuity and the fact that people observe the 'rules', or whether one should stress the fact of conflict, continuous change, deviation from the rules, and indeed the constant revision of the rules themselves . . . All reasonably sophisticated social theorists attempt to take account of these two aspects of social existence . . .[24]

M. G. Smith is criticised for paying little attention to the development of a common value system between groups. As Raymond Smith points out: "The really interesting thing about British Guiana is not the extent of ethnic differences but the degree to which a common culture exists already."[25] Raymond Smith argues that forces making for unification and assimilation in the society have become more rapid and effective.

Raymond Smith uses the example of creolization to illustrate the simultaneous occurrence of continuity and change in Guyanese society. Creolization involved two main processes: The first was the creation of a common area of culture involving all groups. The common use of some form of English as a means of communication and the participation of all groups in a common educational system, are but two examples of the creation of a common area of culture. The second aspect of the creolization process was to emphasise the cultural and ethnic differences between groups. This resulted in the precipitation of socially exclusive groups at all levels of the society.[26] Thus while creolization involved societal integration and fundamental change in the culture and social structure of the various ethnic groups, it did not lead to the creation of a unified society. In fact a fundamental aspect of colonial policy was to maintain a fragmented society.[27]

Another critic of M. G. Smith's plural society thesis is Leo Despres. He criticises M. G. Smith for dichotomising societies as 'plural' and 'heterogeneous.' Despres prefers to regard these as two types on a common continuum of socio-cultural integration. Despres is also critical of M. G. Smith for ignoring the action dimension of social change and therefore posits the existence of 'local' and 'broker' institutions which serve to maintain or reduce cultural differentiation between cultural sections at the local and societal level respectively.

It seems that both M. G. Smith and his critics fail to recognise the notion that plural society theory is trying to deal with two interrelated but analytically distinct issues simultaneously. These are:

1. The issue of socio-cultural integration—the process by which various ethnic and other groups come to have some consensus, share common values and/or common institutions within the society.
2. The issue of power and authority—the process by which different groups compete for power and authority, and the manner in which the new ruling group maintains its position of power and authority.

Since this study is focussed more on the second issue because of its direct implications for the problem being examined, that is, why Guyanese have extremely high aspirations/expectations in the context of underdevelopment and unemployment, the arguments of M. G. Smith and his critics appear to be somewhat limited for analysing the mobility aspirational/expectational attitudes between groups. This is mainly because these theorists either confuse the two issues or tend to focus more on the issue of socio-cultural integration.

This is not to deny, however, the usefulness of plural society theory for analysing the chronic problems of Guyanese society. It was Cheddie Jagan (an avowed Marxist) who observed:

> There is racial polarization in Guyana . . . But it would be an oversimplification and mistake to conclude from this that politics is simply a question of race . . . class and race, dialectically interlinked and interacting, are both influencing the political situation.[28]

In a somewhat similar manner, Clive Thomas, another Marxist theorist, points out that "the racial division is very deeply rooted in the social organization of production"[29] in the society. In short, while Marxists tend to see conflicts only in terms of 'class,' Jagan's and Thomas' observations regarding Guyanese society indicate that ethnicity is also an important factor. In this situation, plural society theory should be helpful in explaining certain aspects of ~~the~~ problem being studied, especially power and authority relations, and also how ethnicity may affect the aspirations and expectations of different groups.

Early Plantation Society

The cornerstone of colonial plantation society circa 1800 was the institution of chattel slavery. It has been estimated that between 1500 and 1800 approximately

20 million Africans were taken out of their homeland and about 25 per cent of these were destined for the plantations in the West Indies and Guyana.[30]

Plantations in the 1800's were both units of production and functional units of the society. As units of production, each plantation was more or less autonomous. As functional units of colonial society, each plantation was a structural replica of every other plantation, integrated by the institutions of law and government into an overall social system.[31] A plantation was a "total economic and social institution,"[32] 'total institutions' being defined as "organised groups with well-defined boundaries and with a marked internal hierarchical structure approaching an internal caste system."[33] Early plantation society therefore had the following distinctive features: a cast system based on race, rigidly stratified social structure based on occupational, racial and colour criteria, and cultural plurality with mechanisms for integration.[34]

It would appear that in early plantation society both physical and social structures helped to reinforce the plural nature of the society. For example, in describing some of the physical features of a plantation in the 1800's, Leo A. Despres points to the rigid pattern of even the housing:

> On the plantation, the owner, or his manager, lived in the 'big house'. A symbol of force and power, the

> 'big house' was usually located within a fenced-in area called the compound. The houses nearby were occupied by overseers, bookkeepers, and other managerial staff. More distant from the 'big house', but also within the compound, were located the quarters given to whites of lower status, the skilled artisans. Eventually these were replaced by the free Coloured, who were mainly the offspring of slave women and white men. The field slaves and the slaves appointed to supervise them, called 'drivers', occupied huts and shacks constructed outside the compound.[35]

From the above description it is readily seen how a segmented pattern was maintained in early plantation society. The physical as well as social structure appeared not to encourage too much of 'mixing and combining' except for the physical gratification of some whites.

While Despres draws attention to plantation society in the early nineteenth century, Cheddie Jagan's account of plantation life during the first quarter of the twentieth century appears to be remarkably similar to Despres' account in terms of the consistent pattern of rigidity observed within the plantation setting. Jagan emphasizes the total institutional nature of the plantation when he observes:

> The plantation appeared to me as the hub of life. Everything revolved round sugar, and the sugar planters seemed to own the world. They owned the canefields and the factories; even the small pieces of land rented to some of the workers for family food production belonged to them. They owned the mansions occupied by the senior staff, and the cottages occupied by dispensers, chemists, engineers, bookkeepers and drivers. They owned the logies (ranges) and huts where the labourers lived, the hospitals and every other important building . . . Even the churches and schools came within their patronage and control.36

The power and authority structure of the plantation system as described by Jagan in the twentieth century seem to be somewhat similar to that which existed in the nineteenth century. In Jagan's view:

> The plantation was indeed a world of its own. Or rather it was two worlds: the world of the exploiters and the world of the exploited; the world of the whites and the world of the non-whites. One was the world of the managers and the European staff in their splendid mansions; the other the world of the labourers in their logies in the 'niggeryard' and the 'bound coolie yard' . . . Sitting at the apex of this world was the plantation manager . . . His reputation extended far and wide; he was czar, king, prosecutor, and judge, all in one.[37]

It is therefore interesting to note that even a hundred years could not change the rigid plantation system which was in existence.

Stratification within Plantation Society

The social stratification system of plantation society reflected its rigid nature. Faced with the problem of keeping a large number of Black slaves who had to be kept in total subservience by the White rulers, the Whites

> had come to regard their racial identity and exclusiveness as the bulwark of their power and privileges, and they used their control of the colonial society to ensure that no Negro, slave or free, should be able to regard himself as the equal of a White, however poor or humble his origins or station might be. Racial inequality and subordination had become the fundamental principles of economic, political and social organisation.[38]

The extent to which the 'colour consciousness' pervaded Guyanese society and served to sharply differentiate one group from another, was seen from the various rankings based on a combination of colour and class criteria. The estate population, for example, was not a simple division of master and slave. There were status gradations within each of these major groups. As far as the Whites were concerned, the resident plantation owner or the attorney was a step above the overseer who in turn was a step above the bookkeeper who in turn looked down on the White tradesman and other White estate employees.[39]

The stratification system also incorporated other Whites living in the society but not directly employed in the plantations. These other Whites were mainly employees of the colonial government—civil servants such as law officers, tax collectors, customs officials, etc. Another group comprised the professionals like priests and clergy, doctors, lawyers and school teachers.[40]

Below the Whites came the Coloureds or 'Mixed' and free Blacks who formed an intermediate class in the society. Free Blacks were those who were freed by their owners in return for some exceptional service, or some times for reasons that were the opposite to humanitarianism—the ejecting of an old slave to save the cost of his maintenance.[41] There were distinctions based on skin colour among this group, too. The gradations ranged from the Mustifino who was 'fifteen-sixteenth' white, through the Mustee, Quadroon and Mulatto to the Sambo who was only 'one-fourth' white. These distinctions led to a general striving after 'whiteness' for social, political and economic reasons. This factor also prevented the free Coloured from being a united group for some time.[42]

The free Black and Coloured group (the latter group arising mainly through miscegentation of White slave masters and Black female slaves over a period of time) appeared to be a very enterprising group and at first was the object of suspicion and envy by the Whites. Their treatment by the ruling Whites ranged from being excluded from public office and the right to vote during the eighteenth century to a gradual withdrawal of the laws and disabilities against them in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.[43] This change of attitude on the part of the Whites was due to at least two important reasons. The first was the rising prosperity of this group. They successfully exploited the limited spheres of economic endeavour opened to them, especially as some of them were assisted by their White fathers. For example, some bought houses to be operated as inns or lodging places; some bought slaves and lived on the proceeds of hiring them out; others bought the tools of the trades they had learnt and set up as independent craftsmen.[44] The second reason was that some Whites were anxious to conciliate the free Blacks and Coloureds because it seemed a good policy to win allies at a time when the restlessness of the slaves, excited by rumors of emancipation, might develop into open revolt.[45] This was a time when the anti-slavery movement in England led by men like Buxton, Wilberforce and Fox, had stirred the British people to the full realisation of the inhumanity of slavery so that its abolition in the British colonies was imminent.

At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves but even among this group were gradations based on a number of factors. For those slaves who had recently arrived from Africa, their previous rank and occupation were important considerations. Another important factor was a slave owner's wealth and social standing and a slave's occupation: A skilled slave had a higher status than an unskilled one; a domestic slave gained prestige from the nature of his employment and his close association with the master; the field slave had the lowest social status among all slaves.[46]

Around 1831, i.e., just before slavery was abolished in the British colonies, the total population in Guyana of 100,536 (excluding Amerindians) was distributed among three well defined socio-cultural groups, as illustrated by Table 3.1.

What is clearly noticeable about the demographic composition of the society around the period of emancipation is the presence of three distinct groups, the largest being the category of slaves. A small minority of Whites, comprising only 3.5 per cent of the total population,

TABLE 3.1

POPULATION OF GUYANA BY SOCIO-CULTURAL GROUPS, CIRCA 1831

	MALE	%	FEMALE	%	TOTAL	%
White	2,519	4.7	1,010	2.1	3,529	3.5
Free Black and Coloured	2,984	5.5	4,537	9.6	7,521	7.5
Slave	47,789	89.8	41,497	88.2	89,486	89.0
Total	53,492	100.0	47,044	99.9	100,536	100.0

Source: Adapted from Louis W. Bone's: Secondary Education in the Guianas. Comparative Education Centre, University of Chicago, 1962, p. 6.

dominated the society politically, economically and socially.

The important point to bear in mind, however, concerns the power and authority structure of the society around this period. While it can be said that the social stratification system generally reflected the three broad ethnic divisions of the society—Whites, Coloureds and Blacks—with various gradations within each of these groups, superimposed on this ethnic division was the much more fundamental 'class' division which reflected the power and authority structure of the society. This division was a simple and clear-cut one: The Whites comprising the ruling elite monopolised the power and authority structure of the society. The non-whites comprised the powerless and dominated classes of the society.

Maintaining Labour Supply: From Slavery to Indentured Labour

In economic terms, the first quarter of the nineteenth century were years of expansion and progress for Guyana. Sugar became the most important agricultural crop. In fact the impact of British over Dutch sovereignity was "the elevation of sugar to a position of unchallenged preeminence in the economic life of British Guiana."[47] Between 1810 and 1830 sugar production increased by 297 per cent while coffee and cotton production declined respectively by 94 per cent and 91 per cent.[48] The greatest challenge to be faced by the sugar planters, however, was the maintaining of a continuous labour supply. Various measures were used to achieve this end.

While slavery in Guyana and most of the British West Indian colonies was abolished in 1834, a period of apprenticeship followed and it was not until 1838 that slaves obtained their full freedom. The apparent dilemma which faced the planters was: "Would the former slaves be prepared to continue, or could they be compelled to continue, to work on the same plantation for their former masters, for wages instead of for lashes?"[49] The majority of the ex-slaves were determined to leave the sugar plantations which for so long had dehumanised them. One result was that sugar production fell by about 62 per cent between 1839-1842 as compared with the 1831-1834 period. The number of sugar plantations declined from 230 to 180 within a decade and only about 16 out of 174 coffee and cotton plantations were in operation.[50]

The ex-slaves were determined to establish themselves as an independent peasantry and to obtain a livelihood by cultivating their own crops. The ex-slaves put their plan into effect very quickly by pooling their financial resources and buying out many abandoned sugar plantations. By 1848 they were in possession of about 446 estates on which were settled 44,443 individuals as compared with 20,000 ex-slaves who still remained on the sugar estates.[51]

The move by the freed Blacks was obviously detrimental to the operation of the plantation system which flourished on the exploitation not only of cheap labour but also on the existence of a large reservoir of unskilled labour. In many ways, therefore, the sugar planters ensured that the peasant movement of the free Blacks should not become economically viable. A failure of the peasant movement would ensure continued dependence by Blacks on the plantations.

One obstacle placed in the way of the Blacks was in relation to the arrangements made to purchase the abandoned plantations. The financial terms were stringent indeed. Payments were made under harsh terms leaving the Blacks little working capital for investment in their plots. Also, the prices paid by the Blacks for land was exhorbitant. For example, while Blacks in the early 1840's paid $242.50 per acre, the land value at auction between 1847 and 1850 was only $9.70 per acre.[52]

A second reason for the failure of the peasant movement was the fragmentation of the land and the lack of large-scale production. Added to these were problems of drainage and irrigation. While water control measures were being operated, no funds were spent by the colonial government on drainage which did not directly benefit the sugar plantations. Consequently, village lands and all lands outside the plantations could not be farmed successfully.[53] Thus it became gradually evident that an independent peasantry living off the products of their land was not feasible. Instead, many Blacks continued to work on the plantations for wages, a situation that was quite satisfactory to the sugar planters.

Raymond Smith points out two other mechanisms that were used by the sugar planters and the colonial government (whose interests more or less coincided because the majority of sugar planters comprised the government) to keep Blacks in a continuing state of dependency on the plantations. The transition from a slave to a nominally free society was achieved quite peacefully because of the roles played by the Church and the colonial government. According to Raymond Smith, the period between 1807 and 1838 saw the consolidation of a remarkably stable hierarchy in which things English and white became highly valued; things African and black were frowned upon and devalued. The Christian Churches were the chief instruments through which these values were disseminated and made acceptable to the Africans.[54] In short, by socialising the masses to embrace the value system of the ruling class, the Whites ensured that the masses would continue to accept the status quo and would voluntarily continue to play a subservient role within the plantation setting.

This socialisation process also obviously had implications for pluralism since by getting the Blacks to renounce their own value system, life style, etc., and adopt those of the dominant White group, the attempt was being made to have some degree of socio-cultural integration and creolization within plantation economy while simultaneously keeping the social and economic relationships between Whites and Blacks from changing. The apparent aim of the Whites was to ensure a state of economic and psychological dependency of the Blacks by getting them to regard the Whites as the Blacks' normative reference group.

In addition to the social psychological mechanism of socialisation to obtain compliance from the Blacks, Raymond Smith points to direct social control devices used to reinforce the social psychological approach. The transition to a nominally free society involved certain changes in the structure of the society such as the growth of central governmental activity and the replacement of the paternalistic rule of the planters. While the colonial administration in Guyana was able to discern the role of a narrow oligarchy of sugar planters dominating the Combined Court[55] and furthering their own interests, the Colonial Office in London nevertheless accepted the view that the future and propserity of the colony depended on the sugar industry.[56] Thus Blacks were caught up in a rapidly developing system of national control in which the central government played a much larger part than it had ever done before. The increasing activities of the central government together with the schools and churches, impinged directly on the lives of the new free-men.[57]

The employment of various measures to get the Blacks back to work in the plantations met with some degree of success but the sugar planters could no longer rely on Blacks as a dependable source of labour. Efforts were therefore made to find new sources of cheap labour through the indentureship system so that as the Blacks moved out from the plantations other workers were moved in. Even before slavery was officially abolished in 1838, planters had begun to take steps to replace the labour they had anticipated losing. One of the main aims of the planters was to demonstrate to the Blacks that their services were not indispensable. Indentureship was the avenue through which the labour of Africans was to be replaced.

It may be argued that the large influx of indentured labour (especially East Indians) into the society served the twin purposes of providing a large pool of unskilled labour for the sugar plantations and simultaneously prevented the freed Africans from earning a livelihood independent of the plantations. The manner in which the sugar planters achieved their objectives is quite interesting. East Indians were a distinct cultural group and as Malcolm Cross points out: "Ever since the Indians arrived they have been seen as separate and indeed their distinctiveness was positively encouraged both by planters and by colonial administrators."[58] In other words, East Indians were encouraged to maintain a separate identity. In this way the planters were able to maintain wages at a low level and adopt a 'divide and rule' policy for by so doing they lessened the likelihood of united revolt.[59]

Indentureship directly affected the move for 'independence' by the freed Africans in yet another manner. As some Africans moved out of the plantations to the towns to engage in the small-scale retailing business, Portuguese and Chinese immigrants quickly superceded the Africans and became dominant in this sector of economic enterprise. Added to this situation was the notion that foodstuffs could be imported quite cheaply into the society. Thus as Cheddie Jagan points out:

> The Negroes were doubly squeezed; cheap immigrant labour lowered their wages in the estates, while cheap imported foodstuffs made the cultivation of their crops uneconomic.[60]

To a large extent then, the indentureship system ensured that Africans would continue to be dependent and subservient to the plantation system.

Indentureship was not very much different from the system of slavery in relation to the hardships imposed on the individual. As Eric Williams observes:

> The grand discipline of slavery and the principal incentive to labour was the whip. The grand discipline of the system of indenture and the

> principal incentive to labour was the jail. Indentured labour was, to paraphrase Carlyle, slavery plus a constable.[61]

While under the system of slavery the planters probably achieved their objectives in a more direct manner, under the system of indentureship the same ends were achieved under the aegis of the law which invariably operated in favour of the sugar planters.

While Table 3.2 summarises the numerically most important groups of immigrants brought to Guyana after 1834, it should be noted that the first immigrants to arrive in the colony in large numbers were the Portuguese from Madeira, Azores and Cape Verde Islands. Although they were Europeans and white in colour they were not so regarded because of their indentured status. In plantation society where skin colour was an important criterion for status, the Portuguese contradicted the stratification system, being high on the skin colour dimension and low on the occupational dimension. They therefore could not fit into an inferior status position for long in plantation society. Since the Portuguese also did not prove to be suitable labourers on the plantations, they quickly turned to other occupations, mainly commerce such as the retail trade and wholesale distribution, after completing their period of indentureship. Partly because of their skin colour, Portuguese were able to secure credit more easily than the Blacks from whom they took over the retailing

TABLE 3.2

CONTRACT IMMIGRANTS TO GUYANA AFTER 1834

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NUMBER	%	DATE OF MAIN IMMIGRATION
India	238,960	70.1	1838-1917
Madeira, Azores & Cape Verde Islands	31,628	9.3	1835-1882
West Indies	42,562	12.5	1835-1928
Africa	13,355	3.9	1838-1865
China*	14,189	4.2	1853-1912
U.S.A.	70		1840

Source: Adapted from Raymond T. Smith's British Guiana. O.U.P., 1962, p. 44.

Note: *The bulk of Chinese (12,631) arrived before 1866.

business. By 1851 Portuguese owned 173 out of 296 shops in Georgetown, the capital city, 28 out of 52 shops in New Amsterdam, the second largest town in Guyana, and 283 out of 432 shops in the rural areas.[62]

The Portuguese as an ethnic group made rapid strides in the commercial field and by the early twentieth century owned many of the larger business enterprises in the country. Living mainly in the urban areas, Portuguese became retailers and wholesalers, diamond merchants, owners of jewellery and pawnbroking establishments, insurance companies, etc. In the Red Book of the West Indies for 1922, of the first 50 Guyanese businesses included (usually listed in order of the size of their operations), 27 or 54 per cent could be identified as being owned by Portuguese.[63]

Like the Portuguese, the Chinese indentured labourers initially seemed to contradict the social stratification system by scoring high on the colour scale and low on the occupational scale. Added to this situation was the Chinese' inability to do hard manual labour on the sugar plantations. Like the Portuguese, the Chinese, too, moved out of the plantations at the earliest opportunity and into the commercial sector, especially the retailing business, laundries, restaurants and other small business enterprises. Many of these enterprises were family concerns and provided employment mainly for family group members who often performed the whole range of activities required by the business—from managers to labourers. Like the Portuguese, too, the Chinese were mainly urban dwellers.

The East Indians proved to be the most suitable indentured labourers for work on the plantations so that by 1917 when East Indian immigration was abolished, East Indians constituted the single largest ethnic group in Guyana. Although, as pointed out by Eric Williams, there was a similarity between slavery and indentureship in terms of the treatment of individuals, East Indians could at least look forward to return to India after the end of their indentureship period. It is estimated that between 1843 and 1949 no less than 75,547 persons returned to India with cash savings of over $4.6 million and jewellery worth over $581 thousand.[64]

Compared with the other ethnic groups, East Indians were basically rural dwellers. The sugar planters used this tendency on the part of East Indians to full advantage in order to ensure that an adequate labour supply would always be readily available. Unlike in the case of the other groups of the society, East Indians were encouraged to develop cultural enclaves, to practise their own cultural patterns and styles of life which they had brought from India, to have little social interaction with other ethnic groups and to depend on the plantation for all their needs. The paternalistic and isolationist strategy practised on East Indians ensured their almost total dependency on the plantation.

The sugar planters as well as other groups were not keen on the physical as well as occupational mobility of East Indians. Many of them, however, were anxious to leave the plantations as soon as the opportunity presented itself, the main reason being that despite the paternalistic attitude of the sugar planters, indentureship was but a glorified form of slavery. One opportunity was through land being granted by the government to immigrants who had completed their period of indentureship, in lieu of return passages to India. By 1891 there were 71,813 East Indians living on the sugar plantations while 33,650 were living away from the estates. Of the latter number, 5,238 were urban dwellers. By 1911 there were 60,707 East Indians residing on sugar estates while 65,810 were living elsewhere, the number of urban dwellers still being quite small at 7,310.[65]

East Indians were mainly responsible for the development of the rice industry, the largest peasant industry in Guyana. By 1905 the country had begun to export rice. The problem of obtaining food imports during the First World War served to stimulate the industry so that the value of rice exports rose from $310,000 in 1910 to $1,423,000 in 1917.[66] In addition, the multiplier effect is obvious.

Because they were mainly rural dwellers and because they were physically as well as socially and culturally somewhat isolated from the mainstream of Guyanese creole society, East Indians were generally looked upon as an alien group by the other groups of the society. East Indians, despite being the largest ethnic group, were thought to be 'in' the society but not 'of' the society. When, therefore, East Indians made efforts at occupational and social mobility within the total society, these efforts were successfully blocked temporarily by the other groups. East Indians reacted by seeking alternative avenues of mobility. They worked hard and saved hard hoping that the accumulation of wealth would ultimately lead to improved social status within the society. In addition to being dominant in the rice industry, they took to trading and shop-keeping. By 1917, East Indians were owners of 10 spirit shops, 363 provision shops, 49 stores and 41 butchers' shops.[67] In this way a myth developed among the creole groups of the society, about the allegedly fierce economic drives and extreme thriftiness of East Indians.[68]

Education in Early Plantation Society

Up until the late 1940's, i.s., the late colonial period, one of the main functions of education appeared to be that of status reconfirmation—education was an instrument for re-affirming or re-legitimising the ascribed status which individuals inherited from their parents.[69] With the exception of a few individuals, education did not provide opportunities for occupational and social mobility.

The Whites were generally classified into two groups according to prestige and status. The 'Grand Blancs' or Primary Whites enjoyed the highest status and were the planters, the professional men and the merchants, usually men of substantial wealth. The children of the 'Grand Blancs' received their primary education through private tutoring in Guyana. Later, these children were sent to the best public schools in England for their secondary education and then to the older universities such as Oxford or Cambridge and/or to the Inns of Court for higher education and professional training. The majority of these children, including their parents, never returned to the West Indies or Guyana but remained in England to live on the proceeds of their West Indian estates.[70] Even in England this group was an influential one on West Indian affairs, exerting considerable influence on important British politicians and civil servants.

The 'Petit Blancs', or Secondary Whites included the overseers, shopkeepers, clerks and artisans. This group became increasingly mobile occupationally and socially as slaves began to move in to the lower status occupations and as the Primary Whites moved back to England.

To both groups of Whites, education in the Guyanese context was of little significance for the purpose of mobility; mobility was dependent on one's skin colour, wealth and occupational status. To the Primary Whites education was of symbolic value in enabling one to enter the higher echelons of English society. Education and wealth helped one to move from a high status position in the West Indies or Guyana to a somewhat comparable status in Britain.

To the Secondary Whites who remained in Guyana, education beyond the primary level, obtained in private 'schools,' was not considered necessary. In fact historians have noted that in the days of slavery 'learning was at its lowest ebb' and as far as schooling for the Secondary Whites went, they were not "fond of the thing. The Office of a Teacher is looked upon as contemptible and no gentleman keeps company with one of that character . . . A man of any Parts of Learning would be despised and starve."[71] Thus, beyond the need for reading, writing and elementary calculations, Secondary Whites saw no further value of education.

The first attempts made to give non-whites, particularly the Blacks in Guyana and other British West Indian territories any form of schooling was by missionaries sent from England. The sugar planters were at first vigorously opposed to the idea fearing that through religious instruction (the synonym for education) slaves might get new ideas of their worth as human beings and might want to rebel against their servile condition. The planters' fear was aptly expressed by a view of the Governor of Martinique, a French colonial possession:

> Religious instruction could give to the negroes here an opening to other knowledge, to a kind of reason . . . the safety of the Whites, fewer in number, surrounded by these people on their estates, demands that they are kept in the profoundest ignorance.[72]

Somehow the planters were convinced that anything remotely resembling education to the masses would signal the beginning of the end of the status quo. As Christopher Nicole observes: ". . . the plantocracy never doubted that the day any negro slave could open his bible and read the first verse of the first chapter of the Book of Genesis the end of slavery would be in sight."[73] To the planters, 'ignorance was bliss,' the ignorance being the slaves' and the bliss being the planters'.

The uncompromising attitude of the planters who also formed the ruling class, was one of the biggest problems to be faced by the missionaries. Interestingly enough, this kind of problem was also being faced in other British colonial possessions as well. It has been pointed out, for instance, in relation to the colonial period in Kenya that "much of the conflict between mission educational practices and government desires . . . arose because the missions' first purpose was to Christianise while the government's first purpose was to socialise."[74] According to Augier, et al., in regard to the West Indian situation, it was the idea of brotherhood in christian teaching that the Whites seemed to fear the most.[75] This idea implied equality in the sight of God and hence egalitarianism in the social sphere. The idea would also have been the opposite to the practice of exploitation of man by man which was the hallmark of slavery.

The attitude of the planters underwent a drastic change when the missionaries clearly demonstrated that an individual could be a good christian and a good slave simultaneously. Guy de Weever, the writer of a children's history text of Guyana, observes, for example, how pleased the planters were when they learnt that the slaves sang hymns while they toiled in the fields.[76] The missionaries were also able to assure the planters that christianised slaves would continue to work as they had always done.[77] Thus education in the hands of the Church became an important socialising mechanism. In this light the introduction of the Negro Education Grant which established the principle of popular education in 1834 "was not an ambitious scheme so much as a way of teaching people the christian religion so that they should wish to accept the position in life in which they found themselves."[78] Missionary education was preeminently part of the colonial institutional pattern. The aim of primary education, for instance, was "to make a better labourer than would be the case without training in the 'habit of obedience, order, punctuality, honesty and the like.'"[79]

Education not only functioned in a conservative manner in socialising the masses to 'know their places'; it also socialised them to place a high value on European cultural patterns, regarding things English and white as superior to things that were African and black.[80] In this way education helped to bolster the existing class system on the plantation based society and economy by stressing a value system which placed the White dominant group on a pedestal and developed an attitude of the necessity to always aim to be 'like the White people.' As Shirley Gordon observes:

> It could be reasonably assumed that the school was one of the important instruments of diffusion of the dominant culture, that an ex-slave initiated into this culture was at an advantage over one who was not in terms of social acceptance by the dominant group, and that such acceptance led to the enjoyment of social and economic benefits.[81]

George Beckford made essentially the same point when he noted that in order to gain some degree of occupational and social mobility, the non-whites were readily socialised to accept the White ruling class as the normative reference group. The Whites represented symbols of success, cultural refinement, etc. Beckford observes:

> What limited social mobility they [the Blacks] could achieve . . . depended in large measure on the extent to which they could succeed in divorcing the culture of black people and assimilate that of the whites.

> This set the style for a dynamic process by which black people sought mobility by aspiring continuously to a European way of life. Education, residence, manners of speech and dress, religious beliefs and practice, social values and attitudes, and general style of life all served to distinguish the blacks who had 'made it' from those who had not.[82]

The first non-white group to benefit from mass educational provisions and the first group who 'made it' were of course the 'Mixed' or Coloured group followed by the Blacks and other groups.

While the socialization of non-whites included their acceptance of the status quo and the superiority of the European value system, a fundamental dimension in relation to occupational and social mobility was to let non-whites have only the amount and kind of education that would equip them to do the kinds of jobs required by the ruling elite. Education was not considered a luxury especially since the educational budget increasingly had to be financed by the colonial government. Education, therefore, had to be vocational. As one Englishman put it:

> The conception of the aim of education was, that it should make useful citizens, and when we say useful citizens we mean literally citizens who would be of use to us. The conception was one of exploitation and development for the benefit of Great Britain—it was to this purpose that such education as was given was directed.[83]

The Whites occupied the key positions on the plantations, in commerce and in the administrative sections of the government. The skilled and semi-skilled occupations, especially on the plantations, did not require any formal educational training since these skills were learnt on the job. With the expansion of the modern and service sectors by the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, it became an economically viable proposition to give the locals an academic type of schooling that would equip them for employment in the lower levels of white collar positions available.

Because the White ruling elite was dominant in a rigid social stratification system, the extent and rate of occupational and social mobility within the system could also be controlled effectively. The colonialists, by not paying any great attention to the non-modern sector of the economy and by concentrating their efforts on the modern and service sectors, made these sectors the most attractive to Guyanese. However, the school system reflected the rigid system of social stratification and the colonial rulers were not only in a position to decide the differential access to education by different groups but also the accompanying differential access to the occupational positions which depended on different levels of education in the society. In this way educational supply and occupational demand were closely matched and regulated so that a disjunction between education and jobs was not allowed to develop in the modern sector under colonial rule. As far as the disadvantaged groups were concerned, they were apparently 'hooked into playing the school game' since they were socialised to believe that schooling was a legitimate avenue for obtaining occupational and social mobility.

It is interesting to note that the strategy adopted by the colonialists in Guyana and the West Indies in relation to education and occupational mobility, was repeated in other colonial territories as well. In what is now known as Tanzania, for instance, Samuel Kilimhana points out that during the colonial era, although the bulk of the population obtained a livelihood through peasant agriculture in the traditional sector of the economy, it was far more rewarding to obtain a job in the modern sector. The British colonialists maintained the gap between the rewards in the modern and traditional sectors because of their vested interest in the modern sector. According to Kilimhana

> . . . the Africans during Tanzania's colonial days rejected the provision of agricultural education in schools and demanded literary education which gave the individual the opportunity to enter higher educational institutions from which one almost certainly entered the modern sector which in turn provided a better reward.[84]

Like their Guyanese and West Indian counterparts, it appears that the Africans also were 'hooked into playing the school game' in the hope of becoming mobile.

Education and Mobility from Post Emancipation to the 1940's

During the 1840's, Guyana and the other British West Indian colonies, being satellites of Metropolitan Britain, were affected by exogenous factors of change over which these societies had little or no control but which factors ushered in a period of economic depression for the colonies. The 1840's were lean years for the British economy and austerity measures in Britain affected spending abroad. One result was that West Indian sugar lost its preferential treatment on the British market thereby producing serious consequences for the economies of the West Indies and Guyana. Another repercussion was felt within the educational system. Whereas from 1835 to 1840 the British government provided an annual sum of Ƀ30,000 for the education of ex-slaves, by 1845 the entire grant was stopped.[85]

The ruling elite, comprising mainly the planters, was not too enthusiastic in providing the necessary funds for the education of the masses. In fact as Table 3.3 illustrates, much more was expended on the Police Force, initially, as compared with education—attesting to the emphasis and necessity of physical coercion in a society based on master-slave relationships. Bacchus observes that between 1880 and 1890 the government per capita expenditure on education was reduced from $9.92 to $4.85 (at current prices)—a drop of just over 50 per cent—while school enrolment declined by 15 per cent.[86]

During the latter part of the nineteenth century it appeared that as the financial security of the colonialists began to disappear as a result of the slump

TABLE 3.3

EXPENDITURE ON THE POLICE FORCE COMPARED WITH EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN GUYANA, 1851-1938

YEAR	EXPENDITURE ON POLICE FORCE	EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION	RATIO OF EXPENDITURE ON POLICE TO THAT ON EDUCATION
1851	£20,924	£3,212	6.5:1.0
1901-02	£55,699	£27,527	2.0:1.0
1914-15	£55,244	£37,977	1.5:1.0
1938	£95,290	£101,817	0.9:1.0

Source: M. K. Bacchus, Education and Development in an Emergent Nation: A Case Study of an Economically Less Developed Country (Guyana) from 1945 to 1974. Ch. I, Table III.

of the British economy which adversely affected the prices of primary products from the Periphery of Guyana, the members became more introspective, closing their ranks, consolidating their position and taking refuge "in their last unchallengable possession, the pigmentation of their skins . . ."[87] But dissatisfactions and tensions were already increasing so that by the 1860's a mass of inter-group 'rivalries' had developed within the Guyanese and West Indian societies. The Whites were determined to maintain the status quo, at least for another generation. The Coloureds were interested in political and social progress for themselves but not for those with darker skins than their own. The Blacks were interested in catching up with the Coloureds for a start. The recently arrived immigrant groups—East Indians, Portuguese and Chinese—were interested in survival at this point.[88]

The Guyanese educational system during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was comprised of a fairly large primary school sector and a very small secondary school sector. For instance, the average enrolment in primary schools for 1894 was 14,721 pupils. Queen's College, the only secondary school, had an enrolment of about 60 to 70 boys.[89] Since education was effectively used by the ruling elite to ensure compliance from the non-white groups of the society, the primary schools existed to serve the needs of the Blacks and recent immigrants while the limited secondary schooling available existed to serve the needs of the Whites and Coloureds. It is interesting to note, for example, that in the 1890's the expenditure on a primary school pupil averaged $6.12 while the expenditure on a Queen's College pupil averaged the equivalent of $203.80.[90]

Although primary school attendance was made compulsory in 1876, a primary school education did not provide as much upward mobility compared with a secondary school education. Furthermore, up until the 1940's, secondary school facilities were not easily available to the children of the lower income groups. Whatever secondary school facilities were in existence prior to the 1940's, were provided initially for the Whites and later for the Coloureds since these were the main groups who then had access to the kinds of jobs that required this level of education.

That the non-whites, particularly the Black masses, quickly realised that a mere primary school education would not ensure them occupational and social mobility and that other ascriptive criteria such as skin colour and wealth were much more important, is reflected in the fact that for a while Blacks became disillusioned with education. For example, between 1869 and 1879 the average attendance in the primary schools fell from 57 per cent to 50 per cent, a general indication of a falling interest in education.[91] The same trend had been noted in Jamaica where it was pointed out that by 1850 "the almost phenomenal success of missionary schools immediately after slavery had now been replaced by an almost complete lack of interest in education on the part of the Negroes."[92]

The non-white masses seemed to realise that education was giving them 'a raw deal' in that the educational system was reproducing the social structure, that they were powerless to do anything about their condition, and that they were destined to remain the most disadvantaged groups of the society. At the same time, however, many individuals of the disadvantaged groups were socialised to believe in the existence of a kind of 'contest mobility' ideology through which they too like the Coloureds and Whites could become occupationally and socially mobile through education. Faced with the choice of continuing to work in the plantations or making use of the limited educational opportunities many individuals of the disadvantaged groups appeared to have opted for the latter course in the hope of obtaining, through the available educational opportunities, the low level clerical and white collar jobs that gradually increased in numbers.

The Blacks, relative to the other disadvantaged groups, were among the first to make use of the limited educational opportunities available in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. Raymond Smith points out that school-teaching and the civil service ultimately became important avenues for the occupational mobility of Blacks.[93] By 1940, the available evidence indicates that Blacks held 36 per cent of all available jobs in the civil service while the Coloureds and Blacks comprised 48.2 per cent of the total population in 1946.[94]

The East Indians comprised 43.8 per cent of the total population by 1911 and 45.5 per cent by 1946.[95] Unlike the other non-white groups, East Indians initially did not perceive the value of education for occupational and social mobility. It is remarked that "even as recent as 1921 Indians had not achieved anything worth mentioning."[96] Compared with the disadvantaged Blacks in 1931, East Indians were poorly represented in lower level white collar employment such as primary school teaching, the civil service and other fields of government employment. In 1931, for example, about 72 per cent of all East Indians in the labour force were still engaged in agriculture as compared with 76 per cent in 1891.[97] By 1940, East Indians were still poorly represented in white collar employment, as illustrated by their representation in the clerical grades of the civil service in which they held only 12 per cent of all jobs in 1940 while comprising 43.5 per cent of the total population in 1946.[98]

That East Indians were under-represented in white collar occupations and that they were slow to realise the importance of education for mobility, was partly a result of the attitudes of the early indentured immigrants who refused to be creolised and possessed a kind of 'immigrant mentality.' Their aim appeared to be to accumulate savings, complete their period of indentureship and then return to India. This kind of thinking ensured that East Indians would work hard and stay on the plantations, a situation not in conflict with the interests of the sugar planters who correctly assessed the attitudes of the early immigrants. Unlike the strategy used during slavery, the sugar planters tended to encourage the development of East Indian cultural enclaves on the plantations by allowing the indentured labourers scope for practising their peculiar customs, traditions and style of life. The sugar planters assisted the process of exploitation by paying extremely low wages to East Indians and by creating 'creole gangs,' recruiting child-labour from amongst workers' children, and thus discouraging early indentured labourers from sending their children to school. Interestingly enough, although a Compulsory Education Act was in force since 1876, the colonial government never rigorously enforced in on East Indians.

Second generation East Indians and those resolved to make Guyana their new homeland, however, clearly saw the importance of education for mobility. But their bid for mobility through education was more or less rebuffed by the creole aggregate comprising the local White, Coloured, Black and other sections of the society, who had fully embraced the values and life styles of the colonialists and who by their education and other qualifications had come to occupy the intermediate occupational levels in the society, just below the ruling Whites. East Indians being the largest group in the society and becoming gradually creolised like the other groups were obviously regarded as a formidable competitor for the available lower level jobs in the society, the monopoly on which had long been held by the creole aggregate.

The elite section among East Indians solved the mobility problem by seeking alternative routes which did not depend on the sponsorship of the creole aggregate or the colonial power. This elite section made use of the limited educational facilities available to the non-white groups in addition to their own private resources. East Indians then aimed for the independent professions such as law and medicine as well as commerce and other self-employment measures. Between 1907 and 1950 approximately 24 per cent of all locally registered solicitors and 37 per cent of all locally registered barristers were East Indians.[99] Between 1941 and 1950, East Indians comprised 64 per cent of the total number of registered barristers.[100] Similarly, of the total number of medical practitioners registered in Guyana between 1945 and 1954, East Indians comprised 36 per cent of this total.[101]

The Portuguese and Chinese made the maximum use of all educational facilities, including private schools, in order to become occupationally and socially mobile. They were part of the new creole aggregate favoured by the colonial rulers. They thus not only achieved mobility through the sponsored avenues such as the civil service, etc., but more importantly through independent avenues such as the independent professions and commerce.

In the period under consideration and up until the present time, Amerindians were classified as the lowest ethnic category in terms of social status. Sterotypes of Amerindians were developed by the other ethnic groups in the society as well as vice versa.[102]

Amerindians though comprising 2.3 per cent of the total population in 1911 and 4.3 per cent by 1946,[103] have always been a marginal culture group to the society. Their main contacts have been with the missionaries who always sought to 'protect' them by regarding them as 'Children of the Forest' and 'Museum Pieces.'

It is therefore not surprising to find that the kind of education given to Amerindians and the paternalistic attitudes of the missionaries did not seem to provide much scope for 'getting ahead' or a desire for occupational and social mobility. This negative attitude seemed to have been bolstered by the relative neglect of Amerindians by successive governments. It might be argued that Amerindians, unlike the other ethnic groups, have always been more or less content with their lot preferring a traditional type of existence in the forests. But the fact that a few Amerindians have succeeded in gaining white collar employment such as school teaching and jobs in the government service, indicates that Amerindians desire a better standard of living for themselves.

Conclusion

In the examination of the educational provisions of the 1940's, one finds that in 1945 there were 251 primary schools, the great majority being operated by various religious denominations. The total enrolment was around 61,734 pupils which represented 90 per cent of all the children of compulsory school age in the 6 to 14 age group. The average attendance for this period was 74.2 per cent.[104]

Secondary education, designed primarily for the potential elites, was, as can be expected, very limited around 1945. The only government secondary school—Queen's College—had an enrolment of 625 pupils.[105] The only other secondary schools of note were Saint Stanislaus, Saint Rose's, and Saint Joseph's which were operated by the Catholics in the city of Georgetown, and Berbice High School which was operated by the Presbyterians in New

Amsterdam, Berbice.

As can be seen from this discussion of the Guyanese economy, society and educational system from colonial times to the 1940's, by virtue of the Peripheral role that the society began to play from the colonial period, all the institutions reflected this role, were interrelated and served to reinforce one another. While the institutions served the 'needs' of the Metropole, within the society one begins to discern the fragmented socio-cultural nature of the society, due largely to colonial policy, with the subordinate groups dominated by the ruling group representing the Metropole. An important aspect of this process of domination was the ability of the colonial power to keep the subordinate groups in a state of subservience and dependence. As one of the crucial institutions of the society, education was used to socialise the masses into compliance and getting Guyanese to aspire for just the type of education that would provide the amount and kind of manpower needed by the ruling elite for exploiting the modern sector of the country.

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CHAPTER IV

A REVIEW OF THE GUYANESE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FROM THE 1940'S TO THE 1970'S

This chapter traces the changes that have occurred in the Guyanese economy, society and educational system from the 1940's to the 1970's. It will be shown that while Guyana as a Periphery nation did not face the problem of 'over-education' or chronic unemployment in the modern sector under colonialism, these problems gradually assumed prominence when local leaders began to assume control of the society from the 1940's onwards. The social stratification system became less rigid permitting increased educational and occupational mobility. This situation in turn precipitated an increased social demand for education that has resulted in an 'educational explosion.' The economy, in contrast to the educational system, has remained a colonial and neocolonial one (at least up until the 1970's) expanding but slowly and lacking the capacity to provide jobs for the thousands of job-seekers comprising a rapidly expanding labour force.

Ensuring Dependence on the Modern Sector

M. K. Bacchus observes that the basic structure of Guyanese society prior to 1945 had changed very little over the past century. The essential features of this 'creole society'[1] were laid in the days of slavery when Guyana became a Periphery to the British Metropolitan Centre. There was little diversification of the economy because of the continued dominance of the plantation system operated and controlled by British expatriates in the interest of Britain.[2] Even after 1945 the same pattern continued. The 'needs' of sugar were given priority consideration. Guyanese had always been overtly and covertly encouraged to aspire for jobs in the modern and service sectors which paid the most remunerative wages and contained the most prestigeous jobs.

In addition to making the modern sector attractive to Guyanese, the colonial ruling elite, through the continuous use of certain mechanisms, tried to ensure that a more than adequate labour supply would always be available for deployment in the modern sector. Allusion has already been made to the measures taken to retain the labour of Blacks after slavery was abolished. Other measures were instituted as colonial rule progressed. One was the cornering of the most fertile lands in the colony by the foreign capitalists thereby preventing local Guyanese from pursuing independent agriculture on a profitable basis. For example, in 1943 while the average holding per family was 3.75 acres, the sugar companies held a total of 170,000 acres, less than half of which were actually under sugar production.[3] In addition, the Rupununi Development Company, a cattle company dominated by sugar interests, held 24,000 square miles of territory in the Rupununi Savannahs at a nominal rental.[4]

At times, however, it appeared that there was conflict and competition among the capitalists themselves. Ann Spackman points out that at the beginning of the Second World War when the strategic importance of bauxite was recognised, the British government tried its utmost to prevent the American owned Demerara Bauxite Company from obtaining the leases for the exploration of bauxite in Guyana.[5] Similarly, De Beers Company which controlled South Africa's vast production of diamonds was interested in raising the price of the product through controlling its supply throughout the world. As Guyana constituted a threat, De Beers' intention was to buy off the diamond concessions in Guyana, close up the interior and check diamond production there.[6] While one cannot rule out the possibility that the sugar planters, through the British government, did not want their labour supply 'interfered' with, the main point to be underlined by these examples is that the sugar planters as capitalists, backed by the colonial government, were not prepared to allow other capitalists to operate in the society.

Another measure used to obtain the continued dependence of Guyanese on the modern sector was to keep the guaranteed price on peasant farmers' produce at an unattractive level. For example, through the colonial government's control of the Rice Marketing Board, rice sold in the West Indian market during the war and post war periods was about half the world's market price.[7] By discouraging peasant agriculture in terms of making it an unattractive proposition, the ruling group whose interests were primarily in the modern sector of the economy, was ensuring that Guyanese were kept in a state of dependency.

Yet another measure used by the ruling elite was to operate through certain institutions such as the Georgetown Chamber of Commerce, the commercial banks, and the legislature, to take steps at preventing local businessmen and entrepreneurs from developing new industries that might have provided job opportunities for Guyanese and so compete for the labour supply that constituted an 'industrial reserve army' for the foreign capitalists.[8]

Economic Consequences for Present Day

The colonial policy of developing the modern sector of the economy for the export market, the fact that this sector attracted Guyanese, wages were the highest paid and jobs were the most prestigeous, and the neglect or underdevelopment of the non-modern sector, have all had important consequences for the economic and social development of the society. In a similar manner to many other Third World countries, the chronic unemployment situation in recent years can be attributed to a large extent to dependent capitalism and the Centre-Periphery relationship that have existed (and continue to exist) between Guyana and various Metropoles.

Some of the features of dependent capitalism that were manifested in the Guyanese colonial economy included the fact that the economy lacked diversification, was expatriate owned and controlled, was exploited for the benefit of foreigners, and was highly capital intensive. As already noted, in 1866 sugar and its byproducts represented no less than 95 per cent of total domestic exports.[9] In 1957-1960, the economic picture was not radically different: Sugar and its byproducts still accounted for 54.8 per cent of total domestic exports, rice for 9.7 per cent, metalliferous ores (mainly bauxite) for 24.9 per cent, timber for 3.2 per cent and 'other exports' for 7.3 per cent.[10] In 1972, bauxite, including alumina, was responsible for 44.1 per cent of the total value of exports, sugar and its byproducts for 34.3 per cent and rice for about 7.1 per cent.[11] The important point to note here is that the lack of diversification of the economy is a pattern inherited from colonialism and flourishing to the present day period.

Added to the drawbacks of a primary producing economy is the weakness of such an economy that relies so heavily upon the export of just a few basic commodities.

Any fluctuation on the market for these products immediately sets a chain reaction upon the entire economy and its effect is multiplied several times.[12] While it should be mentioned that the government has nationalised the 'commanding heights of the economy' in an effort to control the resources of the society for Guyanese as a whole, nationalisation has not yet resulted in a diversification of the economy. The government probably has this as a long term plan but as at 1977, the economy continues to be primary producing, export oriented and therefore a dependent one. As Mahu Mahida points out when commenting on the goernment's Budget for 1977:

> The government has not made a mental or theoretical break with the imperialist system or with capitalist theory . . . The government continues to wish for recovery in the imperialist world as the main hope for Guyana's economy.[13]

In other words, instead of being guided in its actions by radical socialist thinking, the government seems to be functioning in a neocolonial setting.

A second impact on the Guyanese unemployment situation has been the nature of various capitalist enterprises emphasizing capital rather than labour inputs in their forces of production. As observed by Carnoy, capitalism by its nature is capital intensive. Dependent capitalism has therefore been disadvantageous to Guyana since as capitalist organisation continuously becomes more efficient its aim is to constantly increase production at a correspondingly less increase in costs including labour. The operation of dependent capitalism in Guyana has seen continuous attempts at consolidation in order to obtain economies of scale. In 1829, for example, there were 230 sugar plantations producing 50,000 tons of sugar per annum. In 1958 there were 18 plantations producing 306,361 tons of sugar for that year.[14] Between 1954 and 1963, while employment in the sugar industry decreased from 27,900 to 17,800 workers, actual output increased from 239,000 tons in 1954 to 317,000 tons in 1963.[15] That aspect of the capitalist mode of production relating to the tremendous drive for efficiency and increased productivity is seen from the statistics which indicate that in 1957 the sugar industry cultivated 81,808 acres using 25,000 employees and producing 285,000 tons of sugar valued at $58.25 million. In contrast, the rice industry which is mainly peasant owned and operated, cultivated 137,000 acres with 22,000 farmers including a good deal of family labour, to produce 79,000 tons of rice valued at approximately $17 million.[16] These tendencies observed in the sugar and other capitalist organised industries have had the effect of increasing the unemployment situation and perpetuating a state of underdevelopment in the economy and society.

Thirdly, a rapid increase in population in recent years has also been consequential. As can be seen from

Table 4.1, the total population in Guyana increased by 90 per cent between 1946 and 1970. This rapid population rise has had important implications for the unemployment situation. For example, the total labour force increased by 42.4 per cent between 1946 and 1970 but the actual increase in numbers employed during the same period was only 21.8 per cent. In other words, the size of the labour force has been growing twice as fast as the employed population; while the labour force increased by 62,500 between 1946 and 1970 only about half this number (31,800) were able to find employment during this period. If one should link the fact of a rapid population increase to the notion that certain foreign owned, capitalist oriented industries (notably sugar and bauxite) were shedding labour, or at most, increasing their labour supply only marginally, then one can well imagine why unemployment was likely to remain a chronic problem in the context of even a socialist Guyana—the structural features of capitalism still pervade the society.

Performance of a Dependent Economy

Added to the problem of population and labour force increase, lack of diversification of the economy, the capital intensive nature of the modern sector, the economy's primary producing and export oriented characteristics, is the tendency for this type of economy to expand but slowly in real terms, i.e., when one controls for inflation

TABLE 4.1

INCREASES IN POPULATION, LABOUR FORCE, AND TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION BETWEEN 1946 AND 1970

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL LABOUR FORCE	TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION
1946	375,700	147,500	146,200
1960	560,300	175,000	156,100
1970	714,000	210,000	178,100
Increases			
(a) 1946-60			
Total	184,600	27,500	9,900
%	49.1	18.6	6.8
(b) 1946-70			
Total	338,300	62,500	31,800
%	90.0	42.4	21.8

Source: M. K. Bacchus, Education and Development in an Emergent Nation: A Case Study of an Economically Less Developed Country (Guyana) from 1945 to 1974. Chapter II.

and population increases. Studies undertaken of the Guyanese economy over a period of years by a number of economists have been consistent in pointing to the relatively slow growth rate of the economy. The following are a few examples of these studies:

1942-1951

Percival and D'Andrade indicated that the national income rose from $50 million in 1942 to $100 million in 1948 and then to $136 million in 1951 at current prices. The authors adjusted the figures at constant (1951) prices and then concluded that national income in real terms rose by 25 per cent between 1942 and 1948 and by 15 per cent between 1948 and 1951. When population increases were accounted for, it was found that the per capita income rose by just 20 per cent during the nine year period, i.e., about 2.3 per cent annually. As can be seen, the economy was in a reasonably 'healthy' state during the last years of the war and the immediate post-war period.[17]

1952-1960

Kundu's study of the Guyanese economy between 1950 and 1960 indicated considerable fluctuations in the net income between 1948 and 1960 due essentially to fluctuations in the prices of rice and sugar during this period. The increase in net income over the period 1948-1960 was just over 53 per cent or about 4.4 per cent annually but when adjustments were made for population increases and inflation, there was very little real improvement in per capita income.[18]

Peter Newman made similar conclusions about this period in his study of the Guyanese economy between 1953 and 1960. Newman noted that while the value of the national income at current prices increased by 51 per cent, the figures did not allow for the falling value of money (prices rose by about 12 per cent) nor the increasing population—a rise of 23.5 per cent. Real incomes per capita did not rise by nearly so much and the household net income per capita hardly rose at all during this period. According to Newman, the economy grew just fast enough on average to maintain real incomes intact.[19]

1960-1965

In terms of economic growth, this period was probably one of the most difficult in recent Guyanese history. Guyana was characterised by general strikes and inter-ethnic hostilities between 1962 and 1964 in which over 200 Guyanese were killed in communal clashes and hundreds of homes and business places were burnt and destroyed. These unsettled conditions were to a large extent reflected in the fluctuations in the economy during this period.

The increase in the G.D.P. at current prices during the 1960-1965 period was estimated at 26 per cent or 5.2 per cent annually but the total G.D.P. at constant (1971) prices rose by only 14 per cent or 2.8 per cent annually.[20] If this figure is further adjusted for population increase which took place at the rate of 2.4 per cent annually, it will be seen that per capita income in this period hardly rose at all.[21] Using the figures produced by a U.N. Mission to Guyana in 1973, the calculated per capita G.N.P. rose only from $643 to $644 (at 1971 prices) during these five years.[22] Reviewing the economic position of the country between 1963 and 1965, O. J. Francis concluded that the economy could best be described as 'static' with indications that the distribution of wealth had become even more skewed than it might have been in the former years.[23]

1966-1970's

The rate of growth of the G.D.P. was estimated to be quite favourable during the latter years of the 1960's. It was estimated that between 1965 and 1970 the G.D.P. increased in real terms by about 20 per cent or about 4 per cent annually but when population increases were taken into consideration, the per capita G.D.P. rose by less than one per cent during the period.[24] Clive Thomas alluded to some depressing economic trends during the period when he noted that the Bank of Guyana Report of 1972 showed that the fall in the physical output of sugar and bauxite/alumina was 15 per cent while the decrease in rice production was of the order of 20 per cent.[25] In addition, Clive Thomas pointed out that the domestic purchasing power of

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the Guyana dollar had fallen nearly 13 per cent between January 1972 and August 1973. The result of these trends was that the rate of growth of real production was about zero in 1972 and when population increases are taken into account the per capita G.D.P. at constant (1971) prices actually fell between 1970 and 1972, from about $719 to $666.[26]

The economy continued to perform poorly in 1973 though it began to recover slowly from its depressed state during 1974 and 1975. In 1973 the value of exports of goods and services fell further from the depressed level of 1972, by about 4 per cent, despite an increase in the average price of exports of about one-twelfth.[27] Imports expanded by about 20 per cent in volume but moreso by an increase in price—reflecting world inflationary tendencies[28] and the vulnerability of the Guyanese economy. With exports being depressed and imports being inflated in price, Guyana's balance of payments, although benefitting from increased capital inflow, worsened, thereby reversing a large overall surplus of 1972.[29]

To some extent the economy began to recover in 1974 from the two previous years and this was due to two main reasons. First, physical output in the export sector rose by about 10 per cent over 1973 production levels. Second, the terms of trade, assisted by high export prices for sugar, rose by about 25 per cent over the 1973 level, even after allowance had been made for the steep rise in oil prices and the substantial rise in import prices generally.[30]

The trend which began in 1974 appeared to continue for the first eight months of 1975. While quantum growth in 1974 was a result of both higher output and better prices of exports, the 1975 expansion was derived entirely from a further improvement of the terms of trade by almost 40 per cent.[31] However, when exports were compared with imports, one noticed that domestic expenditure had been accelerating more sharply in 1975. For instance, while exports expanded by about 50 per cent over comparable 1974 levels, import payments appeared to have grown by 40 per cent.[32] The steep rise in import payments could be attributed to some extent to the inflationary and other tendencies (there have been two recent devaluations of the Guyana dollar). In 1974 the inflationary rate was reported to have decreased from 15 per cent to 6 per cent[33] but the scarcity and extremely high prices of basic consumer items in the society at present point to the notion that inflation has once again become a significant economic problem.

According to Mahu Mahida[34] the Guyanese economy performed poorly in 1976. Mahida estimates that no real growth of the economy took place. He argues that if the G.D.P. increased by about 8.4 per cent (at current prices), prices by about 8 per cent and the population by about

2.9 per cent, then no real growth occurred in the economy during 1976.

There are also other depressing features of the economy for 1976, such as the following:

1. There was a significant drop in production levels of the main primary products. Rice production was about 38 per cent below the output of 1975. Bauxite and alumina production declined by about 10 to 11 per cent. Sugar production was about the same level reached in 1974.

2. For 1976 alone the internal deficit was $298 million and the balance of payments deficit, $250 million.

The economic prospect for 1977 is similar to that of 1976. Mahida observes that the government's cut in subsidies is expected to officially cause a price rise of 3 to 3.5 per cent. If prices generally were to rise again by 8 per cent and if the population growth is again estimated at 2.9 per cent, then Guyana is faced with another year of no real economic growth.

Studies by various economists in relation to the industrial origin of the Gross Domestic Product indicate that there had been no major change in the structure of the economy except that the contribution of agriculture to the economy was declining and that of mining, due to the development of the bauxite industry, was increasing. For instance, up until 1956, O'Loughlin had noted that "the structure of the economy still follows closely on the 'old colonial pattern' in which capital is concentrated on a few firms of mainly expatriate origin which carry much of the productive and distribution activities of the country . . ."[35]

Similarly, Jainarain has pointed to the export-oriented and dependent nature of the economy. Jainarain noted that Guyana was "heavily dependent and increasing its dependence on exports for its G.D.P. and national income."[36] In 1952 the country derived 53 per cent of its G.D.P. from exports; by 1971 the proportion had reached 67 per cent of the total.[37] According to Jainarain, the country increased its foreign trade dependence from 60 per cent to 66 per cent in 1971 so that in a similar manner to other major British Commonwealth territories in the Caribbean, the development of the economy became more dependent on commodity exports and imports and less on internal factors.[38]

The lack of diversification of the economy added to its dependent nature have no doubt exacerbated the unemployment problem. In 1956 the unemployment rate stood at 18 per cent of the labour force; by 1965 the rate had increased to 20.9 per cent; the projected rate for 1975 was over 22 per cent.[39]

An examination of the structure of the economy in relation to the deployment of the labour force in the various industries indicates (at least up until the 1970's) that successive governments have been adopting measures of expediency by expanding the service sector in an attempt to create quick jobs for the growing 'army' of job-seekers.

As can be seen from Table 4.2, while the percentage of the labour force engaged in agriculture was declining steadily since 1945 (for reasons already specified) yet nearly 30 per cent of the labour force were still employed in this sector by 1970. Also, between 1956 and 1960, the percentage of the labour force employed in secondary production increased slightly but there was a substantial drop in this figure by 1970. In short, primary and secondary production were not employing the increased numbers of Guyanese job-seekers. On the other hand, the service sector was becoming the dominant one for employment opportunities. For example, while in 1945 just under 30 per cent of the work force were in this sector, this figure rose to nearly 44 per cent in 1970. This indicates that the number of white collar workers was rising faster than that of all other workers. Within the service sector employment opportunities continued to be created in the traditional fields such as the public service, teaching, police force, etc., as well as in new fields such as the army, national insurance scheme, public corporations, local national banks, and national service.

It can therefore be seen from the foregoing discussion that the structure of the Guyanese economy up until

TABLE 4.2

PERCENTAGE OF THE LABOUR FORCE EMPLOYED IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES IN 1946, 1956, 1960 AND 1970

INDUSTRY	1946	1956	1960	1965	1970
1. Primary Production					
(a) Agriculture, including livestock, fishing, hunting & forestry	46.2%	42.0%	37.1%	32.0%	29.0%
(b) Mining	2.8%	2.2%	3.8%	3.3%	4.9%
2. Secondary Production					
Manufacturing, food processing, building & construction, fuel & power	20.8%	19.5%	24.9%	24.0%	20.2%
3. Service					
(a) Transport, communication & distribution	12.5%	18.0%	16.1%	20.0%	15.7%
(b) Other services	16.9%	18.3%	18.0%	19.9%	28.1%
4. No Industry or Not Stated	0.8%		0.1%	0.8%	2.1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: M. K. Bacchus, *Education and Development in an Emergent Nation: A Case Study of an Economically Less Developed Country (Guyana) from 1945 to 1974*. Chapter II, Table VI.

the early 1970's is not radically different from that which existed prior to the 1940's. The 'sluggish' growth rate of the economy and its inability to help solve the problems of chronic unemployment and underdevelopment are no doubt due to the continuing Centre-Periphery relationships of a neo-colonial society caught up in the complexities of the world capitalist framework.

Towards Increased Political Control by Guyanese and Consequences for Social Structure

The 1930's signalled the beginning of the end of colonial rule in Guyana and the British West Indies. It was a period of great social unrest and a quickening of the pace of social change. This period saw the initial transformation of these societies which was a result of widespread labour unrest and the rise of trade union activity which provided a major filip for the participation of the masses in political activity on a large scale for the first time. That this period represents a turning point in Guyanese and West Indian political development and change, is clearly recognised. As Bell points out:

> The modern political history of the British West Indies began in the late 1930's when outbreaks of poverty induced strikes and riots spread throughout the [Caribbean] area. The economic discontent of the West Indian people was given voice by new labour leaders and nationalist politicians, and led to a series of constitutional advances which got underway in the mid 40's.[40]

It was clear that the broad masses were no longer prepared to continue to endure the inhuman conditions and the abject poverty under which they were forced to live. In fact, their already low standard of living was deteriorating further through the rise of the cost of living compared with their static low wages. Thus the poor and the exploited erupted into violence and the colonial ruling elite had to make some concessions. The Lord Moyne Royal Commission which visited Guyana and the West Indies in 1938-1939 to investigate the widespread social unrest of the 1930's, made some important recommendations, one being that local Guyanese and West Indians should be gradually given increased political control of their societies.

While it is not necessary to document the detailed political changes which resulted in the achievement of internal self-government by Guyana in 1961 and political independence in May 1966, it is nevertheless necessary to show the consequences of these political changes. The reason for this is to suggest that as Guyanese leaders were being given increased political control of their society, this trend had important consequences for changes in other parts of the social structure. The following appear to have been some of the consequences:

1. The social stratification system was becoming less rigid as increased numbers of Guyanese were becoming occupationally and socially mobile. The colonial power

had 'seen the writing on the wall' and was gradually giving heed to the principle of Guyanisation. This meant that qualified Guyanese were increasingly being appointed to positions formerly held by expatriates.

2. The colonial power and other expatriates were gradually withdrawing from the society. In 1911, for instance, Europeans comprised 1.3 per cent of the total population. By 1946 this percentage had dwindled to 0.7.[41] The tendency was to hand over token management functions of various capitalist concerns to the locals. The real control, however, was shifted to the various Metropoles.

3. Under colonial rule the unemployment situation in the modern sector was not allowed to get out of hand since the capitalists who were also the ruling elite were able to regulate the supply of jobs as well as the supply of schooling. As Guyanese themselves increasingly began to control their society the situation changed rapidly. Guyanese' educational and occupational aspirations, formerly kept in check, began to rise considerably from the 1940's onwards. Guyanese began to demand increased and varied education in the hope of becoming occupationally mobile in the modern and service sectors of the economy. While local leaders could have met the increased demands for education by expanding educational facilities, the same could not be done in regard to jobs because the economy was controlled

mainly by foreign, multinational corporations. Thus over a period of time a disjunction has developed between educational and occupational aspirations on the one hand and the society's opportunity structure (the economy) on the other hand. The main consequence of all of this has been an 'educational explosion' and a simultaneous unemployment rate which, as was already noted, was over 22 per cent in 1975.

4. In a situation where chronic unemployment is a significant problem, where an elected government would find it quite difficult to control the educational and occupational aspirations of the masses for fear of being voted out of office, where the economic structure remains basically a colonial style one, where the reward structure heavily favours educational credentials and jobs in the modern and service sectors and where the divisive forces of pluralism feature prominently in almost every facet of economic, social and political life, successive mass elected governments have been under tremendous pressure to cater to the demands of their political supporters first and other groups afterwards. In the Guyanese context, this means, more or less, catering to the wishes of the ethnic and other groups that have voted the particular political party into office. The extent to which successive governments have indeed indulged in a kind of 'spoils system' has had important implications and consequences

for national consensus and differential occupational and social mobility rates of different groups in the society.

The Educational Explosion from the 1940's to the Present

While an indication has already been given as to the extent to which the Guyanese economy has been 'growing' and 'expanding' rather slowly in relative terms, the attempt will now be made to show how educational expansion, in converse fashion to the economy, has been occurring quite rapidly since the 1940's. It can be argued at the theoretical level that the educational explosion in Guyana is a direct consequence of an economic and social structure characterised by chronic unemployment and underdevelopment in the context of dependent capitalism. In other words, this type of economic and social structure has brought forth a particular type of response from the educational system.

Several indicators tend to show that Guyanese have been demanding all types of education in an attempt to achieve occupational mobility in the modern and service sectors of the economy which have continued to be the most prestigeous and financially rewarding sectors of the economy. Growth in educational expenditure and rapid expansion in primary, secondary, technical and higher educational enrolments are some indicators of this educational explosion.

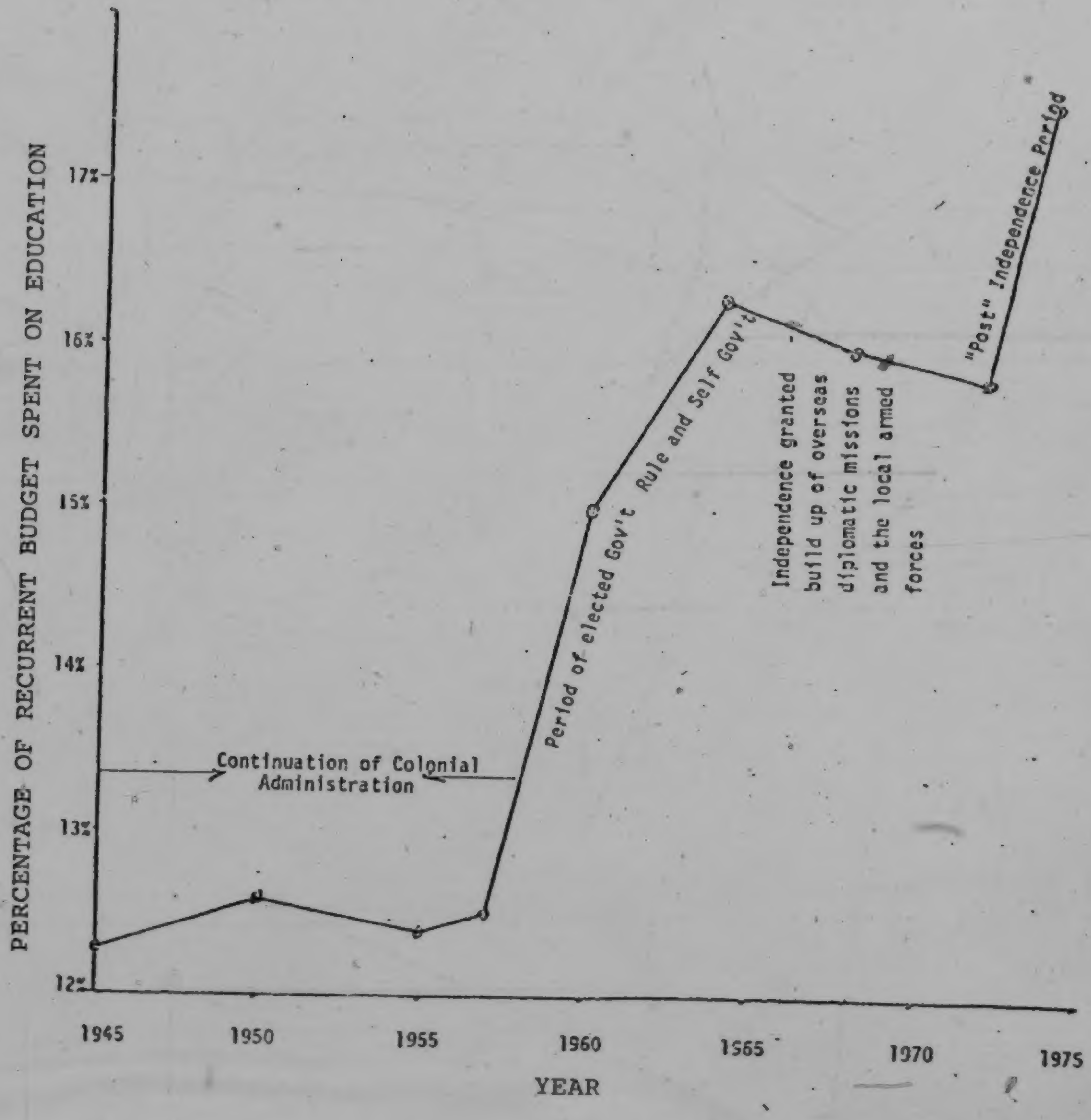
Educational Expenditure

Educational expenditure has been taking an increasing share of the recurrent budget[42] since the 1940's. In 1942, for instance, education accounted for 9.9 per cent of total recurrent expenditure of the country. By 1945 this figure had increased to 12.2 per cent and by 1974 it had reached 17.5 per cent.[43] In examining the pattern of educational expenditure since the 1940's, M. K. Bacchus, for instance, points out that increases in recurrent expenditure on education moved closely along with total recurrent expenditure until around 1957 when educational expenditure began to increase at a faster rate. This faster rate of increase coincided with the fact that it was in 1957 when responsibility for education was finally taken over by an elected government.[44] Figure 3 illustrates this point.

In addition to recurrent educational expenditure being an indicator of the extent of government spending on expanding educational provisions, there are also other indicators as well. A study undertaken by a UNESCO team in 1962 estimated that in 1952 government expenditure on education represented 2.2 per cent of the national income. This figure rose to 3.1 per cent in 1960 and 4.3 per cent in 1963.[45] In like manner, the Planning Division of the Ministry of Education and Social Development, noted in reference to current and capital expenditure combined, that while the educational expenditure index stood at 100 in

FIGURE 3

INCREASE IN PERCENTAGE OF GOVERNMENT RECURRENT BUDGET SPENT ON EDUCATION, 1945-1974



Source: M. K. Bacchus, Education and Development . . ., Chapter III.

1965, by 1974 it had risen to 355.59.[46] In 1965, public expenditure on education as a percentage of the G.D.P. was 4.51 per cent; by 1974 the percentage had risen to 6.67.[47]

What is important to note about these figures is that educational expenditure has been increasing more rapidly than increases in national wealth. For example, between 1952 and 1963 per capita incomes had risen by about 17 per cent while educational expenditure per capita had more than doubled during the period.[48] By 1965 Guyana was spending a greater part of its national income on education than most Third World countries, allocating 4.56 per cent for the purpose as compared with an overall figure of 3.8 per cent for Third World countries for that year.[49]

Primary Education

The overall population of Guyana increased tremendously between 1931 and 1970. For instance, between 1931 and 1946 the percentage increase was 20.8; between 1946 and 1960 the increase was 49.2 per cent and between 1960 and 1970 the percentage increase was 27.4.[50] This rapid population increase has served to put substantial pressures on the existing educational resources of the society especially in a context where almost all groups are keenly interested in schooling for occupational and social mobility. That this is the case is seen, for example, from the enrolment pattern at the primary level where as early as 1945, 90.2 per cent of the relevant age group were enrolled. In the same year the average attendance was 74.2 per cent of the enrolment.

As can be seen from Table 4.3, there has been a tremendous increase in primary school enrolment since the 1940's. The figures of course would have been higher if account had been taken of those children attending private primary schools.[51] The increase in primary school enrolment can also be linked to a number of related factors. One of these, as already pointed out, was the rapid population increase: Between 1946 and 1960 the 6-14 age group increased by 72 per cent or 5.2 per cent annually. Between 1960 and 1970 the increase was 30 per cent.[52] Other factors include the notion that children were staying on at school after the compulsory age of 14 years, the probability that the Primary School Leaving Certificate was becoming a minimum prerequisite for any type of white collar job in the service sector, and the idea that East Indians were now increasingly making use of educational facilities. For instance, in 1920 East Indian children comprised 41 per cent of the school age population but only 24 per cent of the primary school enrolment. By 1955 their school enrolment had virtually caught up with their representation in the school age population.[53]

In line with the argument of Edwards and Todaro that "the more unprofitable a given level of education

TABLE 4.3

PUPILS ENROLLED IN GUYANA'S PRIMARY SCHOOLS (1945-1974) AND INVOLVEMENT RATIO

SCHOOL YEAR	ENROLMENT	ESTIMATED COUNTRY'S POPULATION (5+ to 12+ YEARS)	INVOLVEMENT RATIO (%)
1945	61,734	n.a.	74.2*
1950	74,153	n.a.	80.4*
1955	94,537	n.a.	81.8*
1964	126,494	143,661	88.05
1968	130,836	148,487	88.01
1970	130,484	154,273	84.58
1972	131,580	165,028	79.73
1974	132,023	170,653	77.36

Sources: M. K. Bacchus, Education and Development in an Emergent Nation: A Case Study of an Economically Less Developed Country (Guyana) from 1945 to 1974. Table XVI (for data up to 1955);

A Digest of Educational Statistics, 1973-1974. Planning Division, Ministry of Education and Social Development, Georgetown, Guyana, p. 21.

Note: Involvement Ratio = % of school population (5+ to 12+) in society's total population. The decline in involvement ratio at the primary level is related to the increased enrolment at the secondary level.

*These represent average attendance figures.

becomes as a terminal point, the more demand for it increases as an intermediate stage or precondition to the next level of education,"[54] the increased social demand for primary education in Guyana can also be linked to the expansion of secondary education facilities and the democratization of entry especially into the 'elite' secondary schools. Since the 1950's, the government had given financial aid to the better quality secondary schools, expanded its own secondary school building programme, especially in the rural areas, instituted three selection examinations—the Secondary School Entrance (formerly known as the Government County Scholarship up until the early 1960's), the Preliminary Certificate (formerly known as the School Leaving Certificate up until 1961) and the College of Preceptors (introduced in the primary schools in the 1960's)—through which primary school pupils can gain a Free Place at a government or government aided secondary school.

The Secondary School Entrance examination is usually taken by pupils between 10 and 12 years of age, the Preliminary Certificate, between 12 and 14 years, and the College of Preceptors, between 14 and 16 years of age. Most children for the available secondary school places are selected mainly through the Secondary School Entrance examination, though it must be noted that by 1977 these examinations would be either abolished or substantially modified.

The primary school has thus evolved into an intermediate stage for those aspiring towards a secondary education, especially those of the lower income groups. This fact is partly reflected in the increased numbers of entries at the three selection examinations for various years for which data are available. It seems that the primary school, formerly regarded as a terminal point of education, has gradually evolved into an intermediate stage, hence its increased importance to those aspiring towards a secondary school education. While it can be argued to some extent that natural population increase has contributed to the tremendous increase in the numbers of children taking the three selection tests, as illustrated by Table 4.4, a much more important argument seems to be that because of the educational explosion and resulting educational devaluation in the society, the primary level has increasingly become 'a stepping stone' for entry into the secondary level of the school system.

Secondary Education

As has already been noted, around 1945 there were only one government secondary school with an enrolment of 625 pupils and about four private secondary schools of any consequence in Guyana. M. K. Bacchus observes that the most important characteristic in relation to educational expansion after 1945 was "The tremendous growth in public

TABLE 4.4

ENTRIES FOR THE SECONDARY SCHOOL ENTRANCE, PRELIMINARY CERTIFICATE AND COLLEGE OF PRECEPTORS EXAMINATIONS FOR VARIOUS YEARS

SCHOOL YEAR	SECONDARY SCHOOL ENTRANCE	PRELIMINARY CERTIFICATE	COLLEGE OF PRECEPTORS
1945-46	732	n.a.	n.a.
1950-51	765	n.a.	n.a.
1955-56	1,173	n.a.	n.a.
1961-62	3,734	8,377	n.a.
1966-67	11,446	12,477	5,105
1968-69	12,041	15,961	5,130
1971-72	14,283	19,659	4,875
1973-74	16,687	18,067	4,612

Sources: M. K. Bacchus, *Education and Development in an Emergent Nation: A Case Study of an Economically Less Developed Country (Guyana) from 1945 to 1974*. Chapter III, Table VII;

A Digest of Educational Statistics, 1971-1972; 1965-1973; 1973-1974.

demand for secondary school facilities and the corresponding efforts made first by private individuals or groups and later by the government to meet these demands."[55] Secondary school enrolment expanded more rapidly than primary school enrolment especially after 1960. The main reason for this was that a secondary school education, particularly the academic type, was becoming a minimum qualification for the more remunerative positions in the expanding governmental and service sectors. Secondary education was also becoming more popular as it was perceived as an important avenue for upward occupational and social mobility in the context where the social stratification system was becoming less rigid as political control was gradually being handed over to local leaders.

Evidence of this increased demand for secondary education is seen from the fact that between 1945 and 1960 secondary school enrolment increased by 136 per cent as compared with 103 per cent for primary schools.[56] However, the enrolment in government secondary schools accounted for only 9 per cent of this increase; the remaining 91 per cent were enrolled in private secondary schools[57] many of which generally exhibited low standards and were regarded as 'cramming shops' but which nevertheless were heavily patronised by the lower income groups. After 1961 there was a steady increase in the number of secondary schools built by the government. By 1974, there were 33 government secondary schools, 13 government aided secondary schools and two government multi-lateral secondary schools[58] besides a significant number of private secondary schools (for which statistics are not usually officially kept).

The data of Table 4.5 indicate that the number of students enrolled in government and government aided secondary schools increased by 265.5 per cent between 1960 and 1974, an average annual increase of 17.7 per cent, compared with 9 per cent for the previous 15 years. Another significant trend of the table is the tremendous expansion in secondary school enrolment in relation to the role played by the government in the provision of additional places. In 1960 enrolment in government secondary schools was only 1,068 pupils. This figure had increased by 1406.8 per cent by 1974. A third trend observed is that whereas enrolment in government and government aided schools accounted for 60.7 per cent of total enrolment in 1960, by 1974, the percentage had increased to 80.8.

Concomitant with secondary school expansion, the government has assumed an increasing role in trying to break away from the traditional, grammar type of secondary schooling. While the great majority of secondary schools are still of the 'academic type,' new forms of secondary education have emerged since the 1950's. The apparent aim seems to be to diversify the curriculum so as to provide

TABLE 4.5

INCREASE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1960-1974

SCHOOL YEAR ENDING AUGUST	(a) ENROLMENT IN GOV'T. AIDED SCHOOLS	(b) ENROLMENT IN GOV'T. OWNED SECONDARY SCHOOLS	TOTAL	(c) ENROLMENT IN PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS	(a)+(b)+(c) TOTAL ENROLMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
1960	5,889	1,068	6,975	4,509	11,484
1962	7,397	1,254	8,651	6,070*	14,721
1964	7,271	4,025	11,296	6,070*	17,366
1966	8,125	6,339	15,178	6,070*	21,248
1968	8,751	7,621	16,372	6,070*	22,442
1970	8,920	10,383	19,303	6,070*	25,373
1972	9,026	14,438	23,464	6,070*	29,534
1973	9,515	15,382	24,897	6,070*	30,967
1974	9,400	16,093	25,493	6,070*	31,563

Sources: M. K. Bacchus, Education and Development in an Emergent Nation: A Case Study of an Economically Less Developed Country (Guyana) from 1945 to 1974. Chapter V, Table XI;

A Digest of Educational Statistics, 1973-1974.

*Data for private secondary schools are not officially collected. These represent M. K. Bacchus' estimates based partly on a UNESCO Mission Survey in 1962-19631 the essential skilled personnel needed to work the country's development programme.[59] One new type of schools is the Multi-lateral secondary school (a variation of the British Comprehensive and the North American Composite High School). In this type of school the child is to receive five years of education, the first three years to be devoted to general studies such as English Language, Modern Languages, Mathematics, General Science, Social Studies, Music, Art, Home Economics, Agriculture, and Commercial Studies. In the final two years optional streaming becomes operational and this takes into account the student's interests and aptitudes.[60] By 1976 there were six of these schools in operation.

A second attempt at diversification is the idea of the Community High School, aimed at improving the type of education being presently offered at the post-primary levels of the primary school (Forms I to III). Instead of having each primary school in an area catering to the needs of its own post-primary pupils, one school is usually selected as a central school with the others serving as 'feeders.' The programme of a Community High School which recruits children who cannot gain entry into one of the traditional secondary schools, is geared to prepare students for the practical affairs of life "by developing in them practical skills which will make them employable for a variety of jobs required by the society, preferably in their own environment."[61] By 1976, two Community High Schools had been established.

While one cannot underplay the role of a variety of formal educational institutions for economic and social development, as already noted by Carnoy and Foster, the mere manipulating of the curriculum does not help to solve the unemployment problem—it merely compounds the problem since individuals are realistic enough to opt for the type of educational credentials that would ensure them occupational and social mobility in the modern and service sectors of the economy and society. Curriculum is almost an irrelevant issue as far as individuals' quest for mobility is concerned. Furthermore, the unemployment problem is deeply rooted in the economic and social structure and has to be dealt with here rather than within the educational system which reinforce and perpetuate the inequalities found in the economy and society.

Technical and Vocational Education

Prior to the 1950's no serious attempt was made by the colonial power to provide technical and vocational education on any large scale in the society. The first Government Technical Institute, for instance, was established in 1951 in the capital city of Georgetown. The second Government Technical Institute was opened more recently in 1971 in New Amsterdam, Guyana's second oldest town. The reasons for the relatively slow expansion of technical and vocational training facilities are probably the following:

1. Initially there was no felt need for formal technical and vocational training. The various capitalist enterprises, e.g., sugar, bauxite, gold, timber, etc., did 'on the job' training of their employees.

2. Even if there was need for qualified personnel in certain specialised fields, e.g., construction engineering, surveying, etc., this need was filled largely by expatriates from the Metropoles, on an ad hoc basis.

3. The society became technologically oriented slowly so that the supply of technically and vocationally trained individuals more or less kept pace with the demand for such individuals.

4. A low premium had always been placed on technical and vocational skills. Jobs in this field were not as remunerative as white collar jobs. Furthermore, it was sometimes thought that formal training was not necessary for the performance of certain tasks. For instance, the majority of teachers began their teaching careers without any formal training—in 1974, only 43.8 per cent of all primary school teachers were trained.[62]

With the tremendous increases in the social demand for education since the 1940's, Guyanese have been seeking all types of education, including technical and vocational education, with the hope of becoming occupationally and socially mobile. Preparing an individual for a specific occupational role or for improving one's skills seems to be an incidental function of technical and vocational training. The evidence points out that this type of education serves two main functions:

1. Providing individuals with the credentials so that they can gain employment in the governmental and service sectors which pay the highest salaries and wages and offer the most prestigeous and secure employment. Table 4.6 illustrates the trend in reference to graduates of the Guyana School of Agriculture. It should be noted that while the Diploma in Agriculture qualifies an individual to become an Agricultural Field Assistant mainly in the employment of the government, the Certificate of Agriculture is designed to train would-be farmers. Yet not a single graduate between 1965 and 1973 actually became an own-account farmer.

2. Providing individuals with a marketable skill, so that they could, among other things, emigrate readily when they felt like doing so. For instance, Dr. Ptolemy Reid, Deputy Prime Minister of Guyana, while addressing graduates of the Bookers Apprenticeship Training School in June 1974, bemoaned the fact that Bookers (owners of most of the sugar estates up until May 1976 when they were nationalised) had spent millions of dollars providing skilled training for hundreds of Guyanese, most of whom,

TABLE 4.6

EMPLOYMENT OF CERTIFICATE AND DIPLOMA HOLDERS OF THE GUYANA SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE, 1965-1973

FIELDS OF EMPLOYMENT	CERTIFICATE IN AGRICULTURE	%	DIPLOMA IN AGRICULTURE	%
1. Government Departments	91	62.8	120	69.4
2. Public Corporations	22	15.2	9	5.2
3. Private Companies	11	7.6	13	7.5
4. Own Account Farmers	0		0	
5. Furthering Studies Abroad	2	1.4	26	15.0
6. Others, etc., Occupation Unknown	19	13.1	5	2.9
Total	145	100.1	173	100.0

Source: Report of the Principal of the Guyana School of Agriculture, 1974, quoted in and adapted from M. K. Bacchus, Education and Development in an Emergent Nation: A Case Study of an Economically Less Developed Country (Guyana) from 1945 to 1974. Table XXV.

after training, had migrated to the developed countries.[63] Reid observed that Bookers expended around $9 million in training young men since the apprenticeship centre was opened in 1957. Up until 1974, a total of 418 graduates had completed their training at the centre but at the end of 1973 only 31.36 per cent of the graduates were still working for Bookers. The great majority had emigrated.[64]

Table 4.7 which indicates the actual enrolment of students in the main technical and vocational training institutions in the society, shows that the two technical institutes cater to the bulk of students and that enrolment over the years has been rising steadily. Also noticeable is the increase in enrolment in a few of the other training institutions, particularly the teacher training ones, indicating no doubt the trend towards general educational expansion and the 'academic procession' in the society.

Higher Education

Higher education, until quite recently (when the University of Guyana was established in October 1963) had always been the preserve of the middle and upper income groups of the society. The masses were given the opportunity of a free higher education by the colonial power through the institution of the Guyana Scholarship which was awarded annually to the most outstanding Guyanese secondary school graduate of a certain age-group. A single

TABLE 4.7

MAIN TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRES IN GUYANA SHOWING ENROLMENT PATTERN

INSTITUTION	ENROLMENT PATTERN	
	Earlier Period	Later Period
1. Government Technical Institutes	1,401 (1961-62)	2,506 (1973-74)
2. Guyana Industrial Training Centre	153 (1968-69)	99 (1973-74)
3. Carnegie School of Home Economics	904 (1964-65)	800 (1973-74)
4. Guyana School of Agriculture	31 (1963-64)	102 (1975-76)
5. Government Training College for Teachers (Pre-Service)	48 (1963-65)	292 (1974-76)
6. Government Training College for Teachers (In-Service)	46 (1966)	118 (1972-74)
7. College of Education for Secondary School Teachers	52 (1969-70)	29 (1974)
8. Bookers Apprenticeship Training School	63 (1972-73)	75 (1976)

Sources: A Digest of Educational Statistics, 1973-74;
The Principals, G.S.A., G.T.C., and the Superintendent of Training, Bookers Apprenticeship Training School.

scholarship was awarded annually and it generally went to a student attending one of the elite secondary schools such as Queen's College, Bishop's High, Saint Stanislaus College or Saint Joseph's High. As can be expected, the chances of a child from the lower income groups winning one of these scholarships, were not promising.

Since there was no local university until 1963, those seeking higher education went abroad mainly to the United Kingdom, U.S.A. or Canada for training. From 1947 onwards with the establishment of the University of the West Indies (U.W.I.) and with the government of Guyana being formally committed financially and morally to this regional institution, Guyanese increasingly began to make use of the U.W.I. The figures indicate that whereas the enrolment of Guyanese students totalled only 27 in 1948-1950, by 1963-1965, the figure had risen to 297.[65]

One of the main problems associated with Guyanese going to the Metropoles and to the U.W.I. for their university education was that very few graduates were returning to serve the society. The problem did not seem to worry the colonial administrators since the top occupational positions were filled by expatriates themselves. The problem was of concern to Guyanese political leaders, especially since internal self government was achieved, because highly trained individuals were increasingly needed to fill the vacancies created by the gradual departure of the colonial power and trained higher level manpower was also required to institute the various development plans. Thus the idea of a local university was mooted in the early 1960's.

The University of Guyana (U.G.) was originally conceptualised by the government as a College of Arts and Sciences making university education available to a wider cross-section of the population and so "reduce the social snobbery which tends to develop when university education is confined to a small group."[66] A second aim was to drastically reduce the subsidies that were being paid to the U.W.I. and channel most of these funds to U.G. It was argued by the government that between 1948 and July 1961, Guyana had contributed $3,331,459 to the recurrent budget of the U.W.I. Yet for the same period only 41 Guyanese graduates had returned to serve the country.[67] In terms of financial investment, it had cost the Guyanese taxpayer an average of $80,000 per graduate.[68] In contrast, government average expenditure on a U.G. undergraduate in 1965 was $1,902.99 while in 1974 it was $3,479.79.[69]

From the very beginning U.G. was characterised by a few unique features—in terms of a Third World situation. The original plan of having McGill University in Canada sponsor U.G. was discarded. Instead, it was decided to 'go it alone' although international standards and links were maintained through U.G. being affiliated to the Commonwealth Inter University Council and through the system of external examiners. Secondly, U.G. initially was an evening institution. Students worked at their routine jobs during the day and attended classes in the evenings, usually from 5:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. As such, it normally took a student five years of study to complete a first degree in Arts, Natural Sciences and Social Sciences, the three initial Faculties. Thirdly, up until the 1968-1969 academic year, the university was housed in the borrowed buildings of Queen's College (Guyana's premier secondary school) and to some extent in the Government Technical Institute. From the 1969-1970 academic year, students and staff moved into their new campus at Turkeyen which is on the outskirts of the capital city. Fourthly, concomitant with degree level studies, the university embarked on a wide range of non-degree, service oriented, Certificate and Diploma programmes. Fifthly, the university initially managed to attract an overwhelming proportion of students from the lower income groups. For instance, of the first six batches of degree level graduates between 1968 and 1972, 31.3 per cent had parents who were small scale farmers, 17.4 per cent had parents who were skilled or semi-skilled and 21.6 per cent had parents who were labourers.[70]

Table 4.8 which summarises the enrolment pattern at

TABLE 4.8

ENROLMENT IN DEGREE, DIPLOMA AND CERTIFICATE COURSES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA, VARIOUS YEARS

FACULTY/COURSE	1963-64	1966-67	1969-70	1972-73	1973-74	1975-76
Arts*	60	168	265	447	417	344
Natural Sciences*	42	113	225	213	216	227
Social Sciences*	62	168	204	259	275	378
Education*						12
Architecture & Building Technology*						5
Engineering*					20	
M.A. (History)*						11
L.LB. (Part one)*				13	18	20
General Technical Diploma			120	128	142	152
Higher Technical Diploma			38	93	88	83
Architecture & Building Technology			16	5	5	14
Telecommunications			16			
Certificate in Medical Technology		10	24	28	21	24
Diploma in Public Administration		20	25	33	52	61
Diploma in Public Communication						15
Diploma in Social Work				45	31	60
Diploma in Education[a]			47	73	60	63
Radiography		5	2			
Certificate in Education				18	23	63
Diploma in Pharmacy				10	29	34
Special Students				48	101	186
Auditors				8	11	
Total	164	484	982	1421	1509	1752

Sources: A Digest of Educational Statistics, 1965-1973; 1973-1974;
The Registry, University of Guyana.

[a] Postgraduate diploma.

*Degree level enrolment.

U.G. for various years, indicates a few important trends. The first is that whereas the university was established with a mere 164 students in the three Faculties of Arts, Natural Sciences and Social Sciences, by the 1975-1976 academic year there were 1,752 students distributed in at least five Faculties. The second trend is that while there were only 35 students pursuing Diploma and Certificate courses in 1966-1967, by 1975-1976, there were about 589 students taking at least 11 different Diploma and Certificate courses, suggesting that the university was catering to some extent to the specialised occupational 'needs' of the community. As William Demas, chancellor of U.G. recently pointed out, U.G. has been able to become a "more functional development agency than the U.W.I. has been able to achieve so far . . ."[71] Thirdly, while there was enrolment in the degree level programmes only up until 1965-1966, by 1975-1976, enrolment in the degree programmes accounted for 54.6 per cent of total university enrolment; the rest of the students were enrolled in Diploma and Certificate programmes and as special students. Fourthly, whereas the university began operations, granting undergraduate degrees in the three initial Faculties, by the 1975-1976 academic year, Bachelor's degrees were being granted in three additional areas while a Master's programme was being offered in Guyanese history.

Mention should be made of a few other trends not indicated by Table 4.8. The first is the abolition of fees at the university from the 1975-1976 academic year. The second is the payment of salaries or allowances to students who follow approved courses of study. These students are obligated to serve the government for a certain period after graduation. The third is compulsory national service for all U.G. students for a period of about one and a half years. One effect of this official government policy is that female students are very much affected and are dropping out from U.G. because they do not want to do national service in the interior.[72] Further research may well indicate that the scheme could serve as a screening device for admitting only certain ideologically and politically oriented types of students into the university. It is also obvious from the first two trends mentioned that the government is facilitating increased student enrolment at U.G. thereby contributing to the educational explosion at the higher educational level.

The consequence of the significant increase of social demand for higher education, as illustrated by the enrolment pattern at U.G., has been as expected, for graduates to seek employment mainly within the governmental and service sectors of the economy, a similar situation already observed in regard to graduates who are technically and vocationally trained. What is quite obvious from Table 4.9 which illustrates the pattern in relation to the employment of U.G. graduates comprising the first six batches between 1968 and 1972, is the very high percentage of graduates employed in Teaching and in the governmental service. Interestingly, only 4.7 per cent were able to find employment in the private sector. Also, in like manner to the technically and vocationally qualified graduates previously dealt with, the possession of a degree seems to be important for occupational mobility abroad. This is seen from the data where 19.2 per cent of the graduates had gone abroad to pursue post-graduate studies and/or to settle permanently. Thus while there has been an increased social demand for higher education, this increased demand is linked to the possibility of mobility within the service sector or for emigration purposes. It can be argued that these kinds of aspirations are direct outcomes of chronic unemployment and under-development of the society.

Is the Social Demand for Education Abnormal?

The question that may well be asked is whether the demands made by Guyanese for all types of education present us with an abnormal situation. Are these demands normal for the society or are they too excessive? Can these demands be explained mainly in terms of the rapid population growth and hence a pressure on the existing

TABLE 4.9

UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA GRADUATES' OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND IN 1974

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	TOTAL	%
Public Service	46	12.6
Public Corporations	8	2.2
Teaching (Primary & Secondary)	186	51.0
Lecturing (Other than at U.G.)	10	2.7
Private Sector Employment	17	4.7
Employed by U.G.	17	4.7
Postgraduate Studies Abroad or Settled Abroad	70	19.2
Research Assistants	2	0.5
(Deceased)	2	0.5
(No Available Information)	7	1.9
Total	365	100.0

Source: Ahamad Baksh, "The Mobility of Degree Level Graduates of the University of Guyana." Comparative Education, vol. 10, no. 1, March 1974, Table VI (a) educational resources of the society?

As already noted, there has been a tremendous population increase between 1946 and 1970 which no doubt can partly account for the rise in school enrolment. But population increase alone is an insufficient or at best a marginal explanation for the rise of the social demand for education by Guyanese. Population increase, for instance, does not explain why Guyanese have been demanding all kinds of education or why the school retention rate has been so high. A comparison of the Guyanese situation with that of Latin America, for example, would indicate that in Latin America while there have been tremendous increases in population, there has not been a corresponding increase in the social demand for schooling—the retention rate at all levels has been low. Between 1960 and 1968 the 0 to 24 age-group in Latin America increased by 25.4 per cent.[73] Yet, as noted previously, Arnove observes that the dropout rate for both urban and rural primary school children is 70 per cent; for secondary school children it is 68 per cent, while only one per cent of those who begin schooling ever reach or complete higher education.[74] Guyana, on the other hand, presents one with a contrast. Over 90 per cent of the relevant age group of children are attending primary schools while over 60 per cent of the relevant age group are obtaining some form of secondary education. It seems that the main reason for Guyanese demanding all types of education is that education represents the main avenue for occupational and social mobility in the modern and service sectors especially in the context where there are few alternative avenues of mobility available in the society.

That there is an apparent excessive demand for all types of available education in the society is seen from a few indicators regarding the number of individuals who apply to enter different kinds of educational and training institutions in the society. The number of qualified applicants is always in great excess of the number of students that can be accommodated. Table 4.10 which summarises the trend in relation to applications for entry to various educational and training institutions in Guyana, indicates quite clearly the extent of the demand for both academic and technical and vocational training. It appears that more demands are being made for technical and vocational training relative to the other types—demands that obviously cannot be entirely satisfied by the existing institutional set up.

It can therefore be argued that the situation of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment have continued to spawn increased social demands for all types of education, resulting in an educational explosion. While a relatively slowly expanding dependent capitalist economy has been unable to cope with the high levels of educational and occupational aspirations of Guyanese, the present

TABLE 4.10

APPLICATIONS FOR ENTRY TO VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN GUYANA

INSTITUTION	PERIOD	NO. OF QUALIFIED APPLICANTS	NO. ACCEPTED	% ACCEPTED
Guyana School of Agriculture	1973-75	1,384	232	16.8
Government Technical Institute	1973	8,000	700	8.8
Bookers Apprenticeship Training Centre	1973-76	5,594	247	4.4
Gov't. Training College for Teachers (Pre-Service)	1973-76	1,800	718	39.9
Corentyne High School	1975	900	180	20.0
University of Guyana				
(a) Degree Programmes	1970-71- 1973-74	3,046	996	32.7
(b) Diploma & Certificate Programmes	1971-72 & 1973-74	656	331	50.5

Sources: The Principals, G.S.A., G.T.C., Corentyne High School; Superintendent of Training, B.S.E.; Guyana Graphic, June 23, 1973; the Registrar, U.G.

government has attempted to deal with the employment problem by using the expedient measure of rapidly expanding the service sector of the economy. This strategy, however, has served to compound the existing problems in the society. As a result (and discussed in more detail in Chapter VI) various responses seem to have been developed both at the official (governmental) and individual levels in the society in order to deal with the problem of the disjunction between aspirations and the occupational structure. These include the expansion of the service sector, use of ascriptive criteria in distributing the 'scarce rewards' of the society, National Service, the 'cooling out' process in secondary education, the increased pursuit of educational qualifications, and emigration.

Implications of Socialism

By 1974 it had become quite obvious through the official pronouncements by the present ruling party in power that the government of Guyana intended to bring about economic and social changes in the society through socialism. The Prime Minister in an address pointed out that the ruling Peoples National Congress (P.N.C.)

> has constantly declared in favour of, and is seriously seeking to establish socialism in Guyana. The resources of our land must be developed for the benefit of the people and not for that of a few. The economy must be controlled by the masses and the product fairly distributed. There must be equality of opportunity. There must be abolition of privilege based on wealth and accident of birth and a classless society must be instituted in the Co-operative Republic

> of Guyana. The energies and potential of the whole nation must be mobilised for the nation's progress. This process has begun and there is no turning back.[75]

Working towards the achievement of the socialist goal, the present government's predecessors, the Peoples Progressive Party (the first mass-based party) began the process since 1953 before it was prematurely dismissed from office by the colonial government in London. The P.N.C. as the second mass-based party has therefore continued the work of its predecessors by making a definite, radical commitment to socialism around 1971 when it set itself the major task of regaining control of the society's resources from well entrenched multi-national corporations. By 1976, the following significant steps had been taken:

1. The sugar industry, formerly owned and operated by Booker, McConnel and Company Limited, and the Demerara Sugar Company, had been nationalised.

2. The bauxite industry, formerly owned and operated by ALCAN of Canada, and Reynolds of the United States, had been nationalised.

3. Sprostons Limited, an engineering subsidiary of ALCAN, had also been nationalised.

4. The activities of foreign owned commercial banks such as Barclays International and the Royal Bank of Canada, had been greatly curtailed.

There is no doubt that the attempt by the government to take control of the 'commanding heights of the economy' represents a significant step towards ending the relationships of exploitation and dependency with various Metropoles and putting an end to Guyana's role as a Periphery nation.

Apart from the structural changes which these radical reforms imply, the government appears to be using the communication media to help educate, persuade, motivate and mobilise the masses into disciplining themselves and participating actively towards achieving national objectives. Thus in stressing the need for discipline, the Prime Minister remarked:

> History teaches that a nation, like an army cannot rout the enemy or reach its goals unless it is disciplined and committed. In this struggle and war against exploitation, underdevelopment and poverty there is no room for the indisciplined or the straggler. We must make discipline one of the outstanding traits of our national character.[76]

In order to partly achieve the above objective, one notices, for instance, that the official Guyanese time has been advanced one hour so that Guyanese can begin their official working day earlier. In addition, the Peoples' Militia and National Service activities in schools are apparently also aimed at achieving discipline.

As one would expect, certain new institutions have been created and existing ones are in the process of being reoriented towards achieving socialist goals. One example of a newly created institution is the controversial National Service, designed "as an instrument of mobilisation and an extension of the formal education system with which it will be more closely knit in the immediate future."[77] As presently organised, National Service is para-military-agricultural in orientation with four training centres having been initially established in the interior regions of Guyana. At this point in time the emphasis is on having Guyanese youths undergoing a period of compulsory National Service. From the manner in which this institution is developing it is obvious that National Service is seen by the government to represent a key socialist institution designed to socialise Guyanese into a new system of values, attitudes and patterns of behaviour characteristic of the 'new socialist Guyanese man or woman.'

While National Service is one example of a new institution created to achieve socialist objectives, the educational system is an example of the reorienting of an existing institution towards the socialist ideal. Some of the most recent structural changes that have taken place within the educational system include the following:

1. The bringing under state control of some 600 kindergarten, primary and secondary schools that were formerly under private or denominational control.

2. A system of 'free' education from the kindergarten to the university.

3. The rapid localization of curriculum content.

4. Increased numbers of loans and scholarships for

study abroad and locally.

5. A system of allowances and salaries paid to the U.G. students undergoing approved courses of studies.

6. The converting of Queen's College (boys) and Bishop's High (girls) into co-educational schools.

7. The introduction of compulsory national service for U.G. students and to some extent for scholarship holders studying abroad.

8. The allocation of pupils to kindergarten, primary and secondary schools on a locality or area basis thus abolishing selection of schools by individual parents.

From the measures described above, one can readily see their far reaching implications and consequences that are quite congruent with the government's overall socialist objectives. However, it is also clearly recognised that there would be many obstacles toward reaching the broad objectives envisaged. As the Prime Minister remarked:

> If one were to observe closely one would recognise that our involvement in establishing a world egalitarian economic order is but the complement of our determination to achieve an egalitarian Guyanese society . . . We must see the consistency between the world we want to build and the Guyana we want to build . . . We applaud the efforts which seek to democratise international relations in a real sense. Yet some are there amongst us who shudder at the prospect of a similar democratisation internally.[78]

It appears that the government in its drive towards the economic and social reconstruction of the society, is aware that there are many in the society who prefer to see the neocolonial status quo remain as it is.

In addition to the structural changes taking place within the educational system, the government also seems to recognise the revolutionary role that education must play in changing values, attitudes, beliefs and patterns of behaviour in the process of socialist reconstruction. In an editorial of the Guyana Chronicle, the government owned newspapers, the revolutionary role of education is clearly stated:

> It cannot be too strongly emphasised, therefore, that education, inevitably, must lie at the heart of every nation's hopes and purposes. For Guyana, one such purpose is the creation of the new Guyana man for the new transformed Guyana society.[79]

As in other socialist societies, the creation of the 'new Guyana man' appears to be a monopoly of the ruling party—the P.N.C.—since apart from other fundamental issues of the society, the stress is on having trained Guyanese "who would be loyal to the cause of the social and economic development of the country as the ruling party sees it."[80]

While it has to be conceded that the present government has taken important steps to nationalise the 'commanding heights of the economy,' decolonise the society through the reorienting of existing institutions and the creation of new ones, and instituted state control of education, etc., these measures have not helped to solve the chronic problems of the society. A rapid quantitative expansion of education coupled with a rapid expansion of the service sector by the present government appears to have worsened the problem of the disjunction between aspirations/expectations and the occupational structure. Furthermore, the problems of chronic unemployment and the wage differentials existing in the society, have been left untouched.

Conclusion

The beginning of the end of colonial rule in Guyana did not see the end of the chronic problems of the society. While political power was gradually handed over to the locals, the economy and society retained their peripheral character with relationships between various Metropoles remaining as strong as ever and with the economy and society still serving the 'needs' of international capitalism. The desire for education which began with colonial rule increased tremendously with Guyanese making excessive demands for all types of education in the hope of becoming occupationally mobile in the modern and service sectors of the economy. While the government has officially stated its intention of changing the economy and society on the basis of socialist principles, as at 1977, however, the structural features of the colonial type of economy, including the wage differentials between the modern and non-modern sectors, continue to characterise the society.

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39. M. K.Bacchus, op. cit., Chapter II.

40. Quoted in J. G. Bynoe, Social Change and High School Opportunity in Guyana and Jamaica: 1957-1967. D.Ed. thesis, University of British Columbia, February 1972.

41. Peter Newman, op. cit., p. 43.

42. The recurrent budget comprises the day to day operating expenditures of a particular government department.

43. M. K. Bacchus, op. cit., Chapter VIII.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. A Digest of Educational Statistics 1973-1974. The Planning Unit, Ministry of Education and Social Development, Georgetown, Guyana, p. 197.

47. Ibid., p. 199.

48. M. K. Bacchus, op. cit., Chapter VIII.

49. Ibid.

50. Peter Newman, op. cit., p. 43.

51. It should be mentioned that as from September 1976, the government of Guyana brought over 600 private and denominational kindergarten, primary and secondary schools under state ownership and control; A Digest of Educational Statistics 1965-1973, op. cit., p. 51.

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CHAPTER V

THE 'MOBILITY SYNDROME' OF GUYANESE ADOLESCENTS: AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE GUYANESE PROBLEM

Analysis of historical and social structural data on Guyana was undertaken in previous chapters to examine the background of the incidence of high levels of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations in the face of high levels of unemployment coupled with stagnant growth in the modern sector of the economy. In this chapter data on the social-psychological correlates of these historical and structural conditions are analysed in order to study the nature of the relationship between the structural and the social-psychological processes and between these sets of data and the phenomena identified as the major problem. In order to achieve the above objective, the attempt is made to analyse data on what may be referred to as the 'mobility syndrome' of a sample of 366 Guyanese adolescents attending government secondary schools.

This particular sample has been chosen for the following main reasons:

1. Guyana can be said to be comprised of a relatively 'youthful' population, about 60 per cent of whom are under 25 years of age. The sample is therefore

a reflection of a significant proportion of the Guyanese population.

2. The society is characterised by chronic unemployment[1] which directly affects a significant proportion of youth, particularly primary and secondary school-leavers. One of the assumptions of this study is that concrete and empirically valid knowledge in relation to adolescents' mobility attitudes and orientations is badly needed in order to fully understand and unravel the complexity of the problem which forms the subject of this study.

3. An extremely high value is placed on education for occupational and social mobility in Guyana. It is assumed here that the belief about the close relationship between education and mobility as generally perceived in the society, and the mobility syndrome characterise the attitudes and orientations of Guyanese youth, especially those who are successful in their high school studies. This is another reason for selecting this particular sample.

Characteristics of the Sample

The sampling procedure described in Chapter II yielded a sample that appears to reflect some of the socio-demographic features of the society. It should be clearly pointed out, however, that while the sample can be said to be fairly representative of the Guyanese secondary school population, the sample is not representative of the Guyanese school population (12-18 years) as a whole. It should be noted that adolescents comprising the sample are those who have entered the secondary school system through one of the three selection examinations (Secondary School Entrance, Preliminary Certificate or College of Preceptors). These adolescents are therefore a select group and their patterns of aspirations/expectations are not likely to be typical for the school age population as a whole.

The main characteristics of the sample are as follows:

(a) Males and females are equally represented. In Guyanese society, females comprise 49.8 per cent of the total population.

(b) Urban dwellers and rural dwellers comprise 26.5 per cent (97) and 73.5 per cent (269) respectively of the sample. These percentages correspond roughly to the proportion of urban and rural dwellers in the society.

(c) The ethnic representation of the sample is as follows:

East Indians: 56.3 per cent (206). East Indians comprise about 51 per cent of the total population of the society.

Africans and Coloureds: 38.3 per cent (140). These comprise about 41 per cent of the total population of the society.

Others: 4.4 per cent (20). These represent about eight per cent of the total population of the society.

As can be seen, East Indians are only slightly over-represented and the other groups, slightly under-represented, in the sample.

(d) The sample is selected from two categories of government secondary schools as follows:

Senior Government Secondary: 10.7 per cent (39)

Junior Government Secondary: 89.3 per cent (327).

For the 1973-1974 academic year, Senior Secondary Schools accounted for 11 per cent of the government and government aided secondary enrolment in Guyana. For the same period, Junior Government Secondary Schools accounted for 53.2 per cent of the government and government aided secondary school enrolment in Guyana. The enrolment in government aided secondary schools accounted for 35.8 per cent of the total enrolment.[2] (Statistics are not usually kept for enrolment in private secondary schools.[3]) The sample is therefore overrepresented in regard to the Junior Government Secondary Schools.

As can be seen, no sample was drawn from the government aided secondary schools, the main reason being that at the time when the survey was undertaken (May 1976) it was difficult to obtain permission to enter these schools. In fact some headmasters pointed out to this researcher that pupils would first have to seek permission from their parents to be interviewed. Furthermore, it did not appear necessary to survey these schools since their main socio-demographic characteristics were similar to those of the Junior Government Secondary Schools.

(e) The age composition of the sample is as follows:

13 to 15 years: 14.8 per cent (54)
16 to 18 years: 84.7 per cent (310)
Over 18 years: 0.5 per cent (2).

(f) The socio-economic status distribution for the sample is as follows:

High S.E.S.: 12.8 per cent (47)
Middle S.E.S.: 31.7 per cent (116)
Low S.E.S.: 55.5 per cent (203).

S.E.S. groupings were developed from a cross-classification of information on father's occupation and father's education. The high S.E.S. category includes all fathers with a university degree, diploma or certificate, all but two of whom are employed as executive, professional, teachers or clerical and white collar workers. In addition, this category includes individuals employed in the three above occupational groups and who have completed high school, technical, vocational or professional programmes.

The low S.E.S. category includes individuals with less than high school education who are employed as small-scale farmers, skilled and semi-skilled workers. All labourers are included in this category.

The middle S.E.S. category includes individuals in the intermediate groupings as well as status discrepant individuals with high school or better education in the lower occupational groups and the less educated in the most prestigious occupational groups.

There are no known statistics regarding the S.E.S. distribution of the total Guyanese population. One is therefore not in a position to determine whether or not the sample reflects the socio-economic structure of the overall population. However, an examination of Table 5.1 shows 10.5 per cent of the labour force in 1970 as being classified as professional, technical, administrative and managerial workers. This percentage corresponds roughly to the high S.E.S. category of our sample.

The Occupational Structure

Before assessing whether the Guyanese sample of youth is characterised by high or 'unrealistic' aspirations and expectations one must first examine the pattern of the society's occupational structure, that is, what proportions of the employed labour force are engaged in various occupational sectors. Furthermore, one must determine the educational level by occupational sector of the present employed labour force in order to have some ideas as to the way in which formal educational qualifications are related to job levels in the various occupational sectors. This examination of the education-occupation linkage provides some insights into the nature and demand for formally educated individuals in the present occupational structure, especially as far as the modern and service sectors of the economy are concerned.

As can be seen from Table 5.1 which shows the distribution of the employed labour force in terms of occupational categories, a few of the categories are not too useful for explanatory purposes. For example, in the category represented by farm managers, supervisors and farmers, both white collar and blue collar workers are included. Nevertheless, a few useful observations can still be made from the table. One notices, for example, that professional, technical, administrative and managerial occupations account for 10.5 per cent of the total employed labour force; clerical and other white collar workers account for over 26 per cent; farmers and labourers (including farm managers and supervisors) account for at least 37 per cent; and production and related workers account for over 24 per cent. A conservative estimate, therefore, is that over 50 per cent of the employed labour force as at 1970 is comprised of blue collar workers.

It will be recalled (Table 4.1) that the overall population of Guyana increased by 90 per cent between 1946 and 1970, that the total labour force increased by 42.4 per cent in this period but the actual increase in the employed labour force during the same period was only 21.8 per cent. In short, the size of the total labour force has been growing twice as fast as that of the employed

TABLE 5.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GUYANESE LABOUR FORCE IN TERMS OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, 1970

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	NUMBER EMPLOYED	% OF TOTAL LABOUR FORCE
Professional & Technical	15,525	9.7
Administrative & Managerial	1,323	0.8
Clerical, Transport, Communication, Sales & Service	41,605	26.1
Farm Managers, Supervisors and Farmers	18,813	11.8
Other Agricultural Workers	26,114	16.4
Production and Related Workers	39,624	24.9
Labourers Not Elsewhere Classified	14,086	8.8
Not Elsewhere Classified	467	0.3
Members of Armed Forces	1,265	0.8
Not Stated	524	0.3
Total	159,346	99.9

Source: Adapted from Guyana Population Census, 1970.

labour force. Table 4.1 also points out that while the percentage of the labour force engaged in agriculture has been declining steadily since 1945 yet nearly 30 per cent of the employed labour force had still been employed in this sector in 1970. Furthermore, the service sector has been developing into the dominant sector for employment opportunities. While this sector employed just under 30 per cent of the labour force in 1945, by 1970 the service sector accounted for nearly 44 per cent of the employed labour force.

What are the implications of all of these trends? It would seem that in the context of a dependent capitalist economic and social structure the increasing disjunction between aspirations and the economy are likely to continue unless a serious attempt is made to radically restructure the economy and society in order to reduce the wage differential gap that exists between the modern and non-modern sectors. The arguments of the previous chapters indicate that the extremely high educational aspirations of Guyanese are linked to their high hopes of obtaining the extremely scarce jobs in the modern and service sectors. It would appear that while the economy is expanding very slowly and while the present occupational structure makes demands for a significant proportion of blue collar workers, Guyanese are not likely to be attracted to these kinds of jobs (for reasons already specified) so that the society's decision makers constantly have to keep on expanding the service sector in order to cater to the special occupational demands of the thousands of Guyanese job-seekers including primary school, secondary school and university graduates.

An examination of the general educational level of the employed labour force as at 1970, as illustrated by Table 5.2, suggests that the formal educational level of the employed labour force as a whole is rather low. At one extreme, over 78 per cent of the employed labour force have had only a primary school education or none at all. At the other extreme, only one per cent of it are holders of degrees and 0.6 per cent holders of diplomas. It is clear from these figures that the proportion of the highly educated (university degree and diploma holders) and those with some sort of post secondary education is very low in the employed labour force of 1970. There is no reason to expect any major changes in the occupational structure during the 1970's since the economy continues to be a basically primary producing, export oriented and dependent one. Bearing this in mind, the point must be raised with respect to the prospects for employment of university educated youth of Guyana at occupational levels which more or less match the current pattern of linkages between educational qualifications and occupational positions. One conclusion that cannot be escaped is that the 'educational explosion' discussed at length in the previous

TABLE 5.2

GUYANESE WORKING POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUP IN 1970

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP		EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT										
		Infant or none	Primary 1 to 5 years and over	School leaving certificate	Some secondary schooling	G.C.E. 'O' Level 1 to 4 subjects	G.C.E.5 'O''s to G.C.E.2 'A''s or more	Diploma	Degree	Other	Not stated	TOTAL
Professional & technical		46	2,886	1,372	738	2,431	3,032	539	1,171	3,134	176	15,525
	%	0.3	18.6	8.8	4.8	15.7	19.5	3.5	7.5	20.2	1.1	100.0
Administrative & managerial		5	292	79	161	45	244	69	191	185	52	1,323
	%	0.4	22.1	6.0	12.2	3.4	18.4	5.2	14.4	14.0	3.9	100.0
Clerical, transport, communication, sales & service		1,117	23,449	3,734	3,607	2,645	2,704	215	144	3,457	533	41,605
	%	2.7	56.5	9.0	8.7	6.3	6.5	0.5	0.3	8.3	1.3	100.1
Farm managers, supervisors and farmers		2,816	14,833	414	275	90	30	18	4	159	174	18,813
	%	15.0	78.8	2.2	1.5	0.5	0.2	0.1	--	0.8	0.9	100.0
Other agricultural workers		3,606	21,176	491	387	88	35	13	7	165	146	26,114
	%	13.8	81.8	1.9	1.5	0.3	0.1	--	--	0.6	0.6	99.9
Production & related workers		746	31,116	2,687	2,424	459	177	118	18	1,411	468	39,624
	%	1.9	78.5	6.8	6.1	1.1	0.5	0.3	--	3.6	1.2	100.0
Labourers not elsewhere classified		905	11,921	414	434	88	15	1	0	145	163	14,086
	%	6.4	84.6	2.9	3.1	0.6	0.1	--	--	1.0	1.2	99.9
Not [illegible]ewhere classified		18	311	29	46	12	9	1	1	27	13	467
	%	3.9	66.5	6.2	9.9	2.6	1.9	0.2	0.2	5.8	2.8	100.0
Members of armed forces		3	686	163	214	64	29	2	0	93	11	1,265
	%	0.2	54.2	12.9	16.9	5.0	2.3	0.2	--	7.4	0.9	100.0
Not stated		31	370	18	20	16	16	3	1	27	22	524
	%	5.9	70.6	3.4	3.8	3.0	3.1	0.6	0.2	5.2	4.2	100.0
Total		9,293	107,040	9,401	8,306	5,938	6,291	979	1,537	8,803	1,758	159,346
	%	5.8	67.2	5.9	5.2	3.7	3.9	0.6	1.0	5.5	1.1	99.9

Source: Adapted from Guyana Population Census, 1970.

chapter, is likely to lead to ever increasing levels of unemployment, underemployment and disguised unemployment of the university educated unless drastic changes take place in both educational policy and occupational structure. In other words, given the present economic and social structure of Guyana, the employment of university educated individuals is likely to develop into a major problem in the near future.

While Tables 5.1 and 5.2 present data in regard to the education-occupation linkage at the broad structural level, the data on the mobility syndrome described below show how this and many other structural factors discussed in the preceding chapters affect behavioural outcomes as manifested in the respondents' educational-occupational aspirations and expectations.

The Mobility Syndrome and Choice of Variables

The mobility syndrome refers to a concurring aggregate of factors representing the patterns of educational and occupational mobility attitudes of the sample of adolescents. As already indicated, the main focus of this chapter is to demonstrate the persistence of high aspirations and expectations in the context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment, through the examination of social-psychological data. The examination of the mobility syndrome of adolescents focusses on the effects of selected characteristics of the respondents on their educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. Diagramatically stated, the mobility syndrome is illustrated by Figure 4. As can be seen from the figure, and illustrated in the case of 'residence,' the independent variables, the intervening variables and the dependent variables comprising the syndrome are posited to be interrelated. Some relevant hypothetical questions concerning the interrelationship between these variables are stated below.

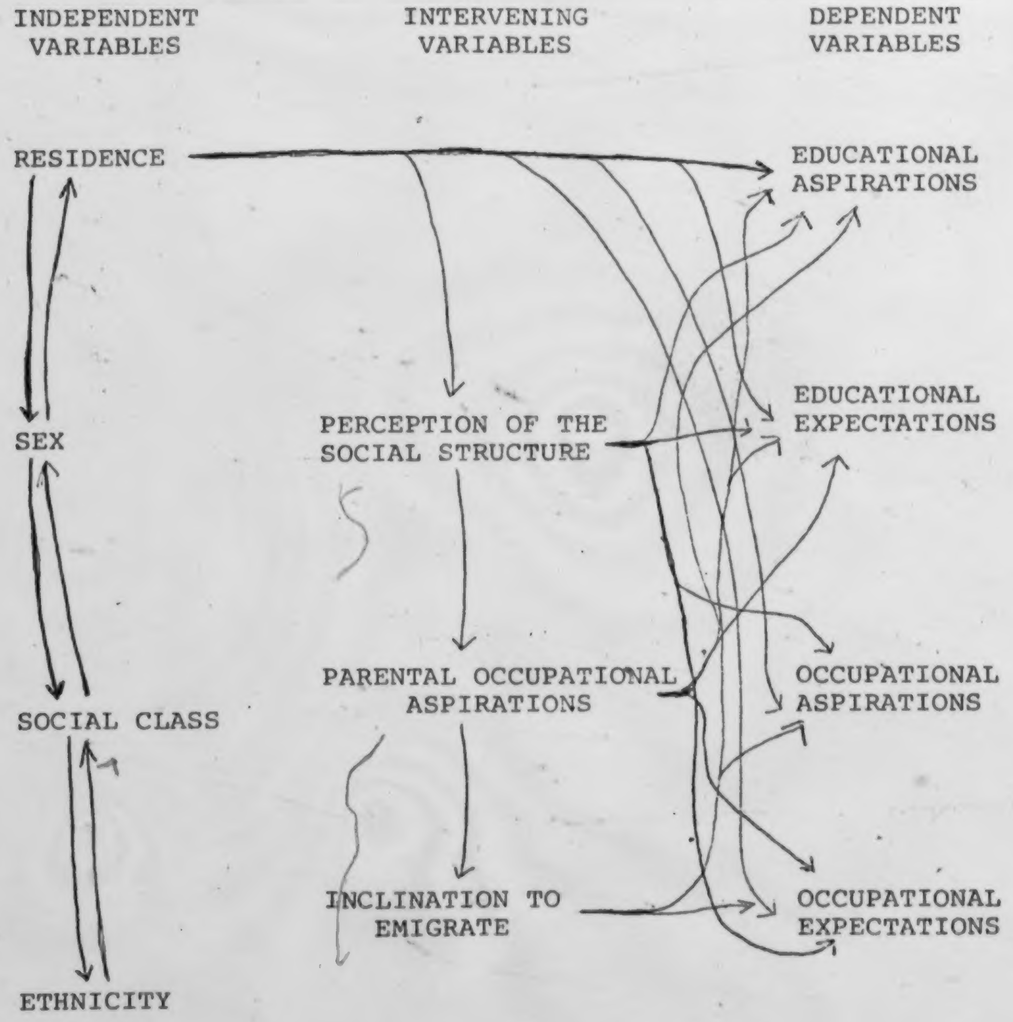
1. To what extent does one's residence, sex, S.E.S. or ethnicity (when considered separately) affect one's aspirations and expectations?

2. To what extent does one's residence, sex, S.E.S. and ethnicity (when combined) affect one's aspirations and expectations. In other words, are residence, sex, S.E.S. and ethnicity interrelated to each and if so in what way(s) does this interrelation affect aspirations and expectations?

3. What mediating effect does each of the intervening variables have on the relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variables? For instance, what kind of aspirations and expectations are entertained by those who have a relatively closed perception of the social structure? Do those who have the most open view of the social structure also have the highest

FIGURE 4

THE MOBILITY SYNDROME OF ADOLESCENTS


INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
INTERVENING VARIABLES
DEPENDENT VARIABLES
RESIDENCE
SEX
SOCIAL CLASS
ETHNICITY
PERCEPTION OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE
PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS
INCLINATION TO EMIGRATE
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS
EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS
OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS
OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

aspirations and expectations and the lowest inclination to emigrate? Do parental occupational aspirations correspond with those of adolescents?

It should be pointed out that the four independent variables of residence, sex, S.E.S. and ethnicity have been chosen because previous research has shown that they have important effects on aspirations and expectations, especially in the Caribbean and Guyanese context.[4] For instance, the variable of residence is known to be an important determinant of aspirations and expectations. Previous research findings pertaining to Guyana indicate that:

(a) Urban residents have traditionally enjoyed qualitatively superior physical and social amenities of life including superior schools in comparison with rural residents.

(b) A greater proportion of urban children succeed in passing the various selection tests for entry into the better quality secondary schools. For instance, in 1971, out of 349 First List 'Common Entrance' winners who were sent to the five most senior secondary schools in Guyana, 231 or 67.2 per cent of these winners originated from schools within the Georgetown (capital city) area alone.[5] It is therefore likely that residence will affect our respondents' aspirations and expectations as well.

The variable of sex is selected in order to guage the mobility attitudes of the female section of the population which has been traditionally discriminated against through the socialization process—viz-a-viz—males. However, females along with males are now being increasingly influenced by radical oriented political, economic and social changes taking place in Guyana and elsewhere (including rapidly expanding educational provisions) and their underlying ideological doctrines. One likely consequence of these changes is going to be such that females are increasingly likely to have educational and occupational aspirations similar to those of males. Furthermore, if aspirational changes take place as suggested here, then females may compete side by side with their male counterparts for the limited number of jobs in the modern and service sectors thus making the job market competition even keener.

The independent variable of social class is selected because the literature both in regard to the industrialised and the Third World is rather profuse in attributing the influence of social class on both the structures of educational and occupational opportunities as well as educational and occupational mobility. A noticeable feature, especially of the lower income groups of the Carribean and Guyanese youth, is their determination to achieve social mobility through participation in the formal educational system.[6] The analysis of the effect of social class on aspirations and expectations should therefor provide valuable insights into the differential mobility attitudes of Guyanese youth from different social class origins.

The variable of ethnicity is selected because the Guyanese society is multi-ethnic and pluralistic. As Chapters III and IV make evident, ethnicity has historically been an important basis of stratification in Guyanese society. In a context of underdevelopment, chronic unemployment, intense competition for the scarce 'goods' of society between groups and political polarization along ethnic lines, ethnic group membership is likely to strongly influence the aspirations and particularly the expectations that members of each group hold. Ethnicity is also likely to strongly influence intervening variables like 'inclination to emigrate' and 'perception of the social structure.'

Apart from residence, sex, S.E.S. and ethnicity, the three intervening variables—perception of the social structure, inclination to emigrate, and parental occupational aspirations—have been selected because the analysis of the structural data of the previous chapters tends to indicate the mediating function of these intervening variables on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Therefore, in our analysis we examine the question as to whether respondents who perceive the social structure to be relatively closed have a lower level of expectations and a higher inclination to emigrate. An examination of the mediating effects of these intervening variables should therefore provide some new and interesting insights into the process whereby aspirations and expectations are either 'dampened' or roused and expanded.

Furthermore, a preliminary analysis has indicated that the two intervening variables, 'inclination to emigrate' and 'perception of the social structure' are related to each other such that this relationship in fact represents a set of orientations each reflecting a fairly discrete mode of respondents' commitment to the Guyanese society. The orientations as discussed below are used in the analysis of data—especially the part which focusses on the mediating effect of intervening factors on the relationship of independent and dependent variables. These orientations, schematically represented in Figure 5, are as follows:

1. Those who have a closed perception of the social structure and the inclination to emigrate. These individuals representing one extreme orientation, are said to have an alienative orientation.

2. Those who have a closed perception of the social structure and no inclination to emigrate. These individuals are said to have an ambivalent orientation.

3. Those who have an open perception of the social

FIGURE 5

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION

	INCLINATION TO EMIGRATE	NO INCLINATION TO EMIGRATE
CLOSED VIEW OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE	1	2
OPEN VIEW OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE	3	4

structure and no inclination to emigrate. These individuals are said to have a calculative orientation.

4. Those who have an open perception of the social structure and no inclination to emigrate. These represent the other extreme orientation and are said to have an integrative orientation.

The foregoing four categories suggest that the structural location of respondents may affect their level or mode of alienation which in turn is likely to affect respondents' mobility aspirations and expectations. The analysis of the data examines the modifying effect of this intervening variable (which will be referred to as adolescents' 'commitment orientation') on the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables.

'Residence' in Relation to Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

For the purpose of analysis, the relationship between residence and educational aspirations and expectations is first examined; the relationship between residence and occupational aspirations and expectations is examined second.

It should also be borne in mind that in the analysis which follows, a percentage difference of 10 per cent and above is assumed to be substantively significant for comparative purposes.

Table 5.3 which summarises the educational

TABLE 5.3

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS IN RELATION TO RESIDENCE

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification:			
Aspirations	90	214	304
%	92.8	79.6	83.1
Expectations	54	83	137
%	55.7	30.9	37.4
% Discrepancy	37.1	48.7	45.7
Technical and vocational education:			
Aspirations	6	41	47
%	6.2	15.2	12.8
Expectations	14	82	96
%	14.4	30.4	26.2
% Discrepancy	-8.2	-15.2	-13.4
G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' Levels:			
Aspirations	1	14	15
%	1.0	5.2	4.1
Expectations	29	104	133
%	29.9	38.7	36.3
% Discrepancy	-28.9	-33.5	-32.2
Total (Aspirations or Expectations)	97	269	366
%	100	100	100

GAMMA for Educational Aspirations is 0.53. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.004.

GAMMA for Educational Expectations is 0.32. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.001.

Note: Norman Nie, et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, point out that a Gamma of .34 shows a fairly strong association between the independent and dependent variables.

aspirations and expectations of adolescents in relation to residence, indicates that the educational aspirations and expectations of the sample are extremely high in relation to the Guyanese occupational structure as at 1970, the date of the last official census. First, 83.1 per cent of the sample have aspirations for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification while 37.4 per cent have expectations for this level of education. In the Guyanese labour force of 1970, individuals with similar qualifications account for only 1.6 per cent of the employed labour force (Table 5.2). In line with the ideas of Edwards and Todaro and the general theoretical framework of this study it can be argued that while educational aspirations and expectations are probably very high, they are certainly realistic in a subjective sense. In a context where education is the most important avenue for occupational and social mobility and where there is a lack of alternative avenues of mobility, adolescents are quite realistic in aiming for the highest levels of education (since it is now 'free' or heavily subsidised by the government) in order to qualify for the limited jobs in the high-wage and prestigeous modern and service sectors of the economy.

A second trend in Table 5.3 is that both aspirations and expectations of urban youth are higher than those of rural youths. For instance, 92.8 per cent urban youths as compared to 79.6 per cent rural youths aspire towards a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification. Similarly, 55.7 per cent of the urban sample as compared with 30.9 per cent of the rural sample expect to have this type of education. A probable reason for this finding is that in the context of a dependent capitalist economic and social structure, development of which has traditionally tended to be dualistic,[7] development of the modern and service sectors (affecting mainly urban dwellers) is always at the expense of the non-modern sector (affecting mainly rural dwellers). The higher aspirational and expectational levels of urban youths in our sample are probably related to the steady advantages they have enjoyed over their rural counterparts.

A third trend observed is the percentage discrepancy between aspirations and expectations for both urban and rural youths. The percentage discrepancy for urban youths is lower than that for rural youths suggesting a little more congruence between the aspirations and expectations of urban youths. For instance, the percentage discrepancy for urban youths in relation to the category of subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification is 37.1 per cent as compared with 48.7 per cent for rural youths. In other words, both aspirations and expectations of urban respondents are high; rural respondents tend to have high aspirations but much lower expectations.

The obvious reason for the sizable percentage discrepancy between educational aspirations and expectations is that social reality tempers the view of life chances for both urban and rural respondents. From their own interpretation of opportunities for mobility in the society they seem to be aware of the problems, hence their realistic assessment of their own situation and the tendency for expectations to be lower than aspirations.

This realistic attitude on the part of adolescents is observed especially in regard to the desire for technical and vocational education, which is a fourth trend in Table 5.3. No less than 26.2 per cent of the overall sample expect to have this type of education and interestingly, 30.4 per cent rural youths compared to 14.4 per cent urban youths expect to have a technical and vocational education. This significant percentage difference between rural and urban youths suggests that a sizable proportion of rural dwellers aim for the type of education that would enable them either to emigrate or to qualify for skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the modern and service sectors of the economy.

Table 5.4 which summarises the occupational aspirations and expectations of adolescents, yields findings that are somewhat similar to those obtained with regard to educational aspirations and expectations. These

TABLE 5.4

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

IN RELATION TO RESIDENCE

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar:			
Aspirations	81	193	274
%	83.5	71.7	74.9
Expectations	69	172	241
%	71.1	63.9	65.8
% Discrepancy	12.4	7.8	9.1
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers and farmers:			
Aspirations	1	8	9
%	1.0	3.0	2.5
Expectations	4	16	20
%	4.1	5.9	5.5
% Discrepancy	-3.1	-2.9	-3.0
Skilled and semi-skilled:			
Aspirations	15	68	83
%	15.5	25.3	22.7
Expectations	17	52	69
%	17.5	19.3	18.9
% Discrepancy	-2.0	6.0	3.8
Unskilled, housewives, unemployed, etc.:			
Expectations only	7	29	36
%	7.2	10.8	9.8
Total (Aspirations or Expectations)	97	269	366
%	100	100	100

GAMMA for Occupational Aspirations is 0.32. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.03.

GAMMA for Occupational Expectations is 0.15. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.21.

similarities include the following:

1. Occupational aspirations and expectations correspond closely with educational aspirations and expectations, especially in regard to categories 1 and 2 of Table 5.3 and categories 1 and 3 of Table 5.4.

2. Both occupational aspirations and expectations are very high with expectations tending to be lower than aspirations. For instance, Table 5.4 shows that 74.9 per cent of the sample have aspirations, and 65.8 per cent, expectations for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs. In the Guyanese labour force of 1970, similar jobs account for approximately 36 per cent of the labour force.

3. Urban youths have higher occupational aspirations and expectations than rural youths.

The reasons for the above findings are the same advanced in relation to educational aspirations and expectations.

Table 5.4 also indicates a few other trends not observed in Table 5.3. One is that urban and rural dwellers have almost similar expectations for skilled and semi-skilled employment. Unlike in the case of educational expectations, this finding suggests that both urban and rural dwellers take a realistic view of their life chances in expecting skilled and semi-skilled jobs.

Another trend in Table 5.4 is the smaller percentage discrepancy for rural adolescents (7.8 per cent) compared with 12.4 per cent for urban adolescents in relation to aspirations-expectations for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs. This suggests that rural youths have a much more realistic view of their life chances with regard to this occupational level as compared with urban youths. In other words, rural youths are more aware of how they stand in terms of this particular job level in the occupational structure.

A final trend in Table 5.4 is that only 2.5 per cent of the total sample have aspirations to become small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers and farmers but 5.5 per cent expect to reach this occupational level. In a similar manner, while no one aspires toward~~s~~ the unskilled, housewives, unemployed, etc., occupational category, yet 9.8 per cent of the total sample see themselves destined for it. These findings seem to be a clear recognition of the structural pressures and constraints operating in the society. Respondents seem to be very much aware of various structural and other barriers to mobility, hence their realistic attitude in actually expecting certain low level jobs or even unemployment.

While it has already been indicated that the sample of adolescents is representative of the secondary school population but not the school age population as a whole, the levels of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations by respondents, as illustrated by Tables 5.3 and 5.4, demonstrate that there is an apparent disjunction between this select group of respondents and the occupational structure. Even if it is granted that this select group of respondents is expected to be characterised by extremely high aspirations and expectations since it is a somewhat privileged group enjoying a secondary education, a reasonable argument is that the educational system and occupational structure cannot cater to the aspirations and expectations of even this group much less the school age population as a whole. For instance, Table 4.5 shows that in 1974 approximately 32,000 pupils were attending secondary schools. Table 4.8 indicates that the University of Guyana can only accept about 250 students annually; Table 4.10 shows a great excess of applicants over the number of places available in the technical and vocational training institutions in the society. Added to these data are the findings of Tables 5.3 and 5.4 where 37.4 per cent of the sample expect to have a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification; 65.8 per cent expect to have an executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar job.

Assuming that around 8,000 secondary school graduates go on to post secondary education or seek jobs of their choice in the occupational structure, a strong argument here is that neither the post secondary educational institutions nor the occupational structure can cater to the particular aspirations and expectations of these secondary school graduates. Hence the structural evidence of Chapter IV and the findings of Tables 5.3 and 5.4 demonstrate the existence of a disjunction between adolescents' aspirations/expectations and the occupational structure.

The Mediating Effect of the Intervening Variables

Data in Tables 5.5, 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 are presented such that the effect of the intervening variable 'parental occupational aspirations' on the relationship between the independent variable (residence) and the dependent variables (educational aspirations, educational expectations, occupational aspirations, occupational expectations) can be studied. The findings show that:

1. Parental occupational aspirations do affect respondents' aspirations and expectations. For instance, parental aspirations for the highest occupational levels correspond to respondents'. Similarly, the declining parental aspirations for the lower occupational level also correspond to those of respondents.

2. Regarding respondents' educational aspirations, the higher response rate of the 'don't know' category as compared with respondents who reported parental aspirations, suggests that it is better not to know one's

TABLE 5.5

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND RESIDENCE

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		URBAN				RURAL			
		Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total	Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		40	3	0	43	82	18	6	106
	%	93.0	7.0		100	77.4	17.0	5.7	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		4	2	0	6	37	9	3	49
	%	66.7	33.3		100	73.5	18.4	6.1	100
(Don't know)		46	1	1	48	95	14	5	114
	%	95.8	2.1	2.1	100	83.3	12.3	4.4	100
Total		90	6	1	97	214	41	14	269
	%	92.8	6.2	1.0	100	79.6	15.2	5.2	100

TABLE 5.6

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND RESIDENCE

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		URBAN				RURAL			
		Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total	Subprofessional ed., university degree of professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		32	3	8	43	39	28	39	106
	%	74.4	7.0	18.6	100	36.8	26.4	36.8	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		1	3	2	6	7	23	19	49
	%	16.7	50.0	33.3	100	14.3	46.9	38.8	100
(Don't know)		21	8	19	48	37	31	46	114
	%	43.8	16.7	39.6	100	32.5	27.2	40.4	100
Total		54	14	29	97	83	82	104	269
	%	55.7	14.4	29.9	100	30.9	30.5	38.7	100

TABLE 5.7

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND RESIDENCE

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		URBAN				RURAL			
		Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled	Total	Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		39	0	4	43	90	1	15	106
	%	90.7		9.3	100	84.9	0.9	14.2	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		3	0	3	6	20	0	29	49
	%	50.0		50.0	100	40.8		59.2	100
(Don't know)		39	1	8	48	83	7	24	114
	%	81.3	2.1	16.7	100	72.8	6.1	21.1	100
Total		81	1	15	97	193	8	68	269
	%	83.5	1.0	15.5	100	71.7	3.0	25.3	100

TABLE 5.8

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND ASPIRATIONS

		URBAN				RURAL			
PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	Total	Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		33	2	8	43	83	2	21	106
	%	76.7	4.7	18.6	100	78.3	1.9	19.8	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		3	0	3	6	17	3	29	49
	%	50.0		50.0	100	34.7	6.1	59.2	100
(Don't know)		33	2	13	48	72	11	31	114
	%	68.8	4.2	27.1	100	63.2	9.6	27.2	100
Total		69	4	25	97	172	16	81	269
	%	71.1	4.1	25.8	100	63.9	5.9	30.1	100

parents' aspirations if these are low since parental aspirations might have a depressing effect on those of children.

From Table 5.9 which summarises adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to educational aspirations and residence, one can first of all deduce the numbers of individuals in the sample who are characteristic of each commitment orientation. The following appears to be the trend:

Alienative orientation: 13.9% (51)
Ambivalent orientation: 28.7% (105)
Calculative orientation: 10.9% (40)
Integrative orientation: 46.4% (170).

As can be seen from the data, while 13.9 per cent of the sample are definitely alienated from the society, on the other hand, the greatest proportion (46.4 per cent) is characterised by the integrative orientation. This suggests that a significant proportion of the sample probably has an optimistic view of its life chances in the society. While this might be so the percentages of the alienative and calculative oriented (24.9) together indicate that a substantive proportion of youth has the desire to emigrate.

Table 5.9 also shows that the commitment orientation does not significantly affect the educational aspirations of urban dwellers but it does affect the

TABLE 5.9

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND RESIDENCE

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		URBAN					RURAL				
		Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification	%	93.8 (15)	92.6 (25)	91.7 (11)	92.9 (39)	92.8 (90)	88.6 (31)	79.5 (62)	67.9 (19)	80.5 (103)	79.9 (215)
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels	%	6.2 (1)	7.4 (2)	8.3 (1)	7.1 (3)	7.2 (7)	11.4 (4)	20.5 (16)	32.1 (9)	19.5 (25)	20.1 (54)
Total	%	100 (16)	100 (27)	100 (12)	100 (42)	100 (97)	100 (35)	100 (78)	100 (28)	100 (128)	100 (269)
Total % with each orientation		16.5	27.8	12.4	43.3	100	13.0	29.0	10.4	47.6	100

educational aspirations of rural dwellers. For this category in terms of a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification, the alienative oriented have the highest aspirations (88.6 per cent) while the calculative oriented have the lowest aspirations (67.9 per cent) of the category as a whole (79.9 per cent). This indicates that the alienative orientation acts so as to raise aspirations higher; the calculative orientation has the exactly opposite effect: It depresses aspirations.

In Table 5.10 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to educational expectations and residence, both urban and rural respondents' expectations are modified by their commitment orientation to the society. For urban respondents, the alienative oriented have the highest expectations (87.5 per cent) while the calculative oriented have the lowest expectations (33.3 per cent) of the category as a whole (55.7 per cent). As pointed out in the case of rural dwellers earlier, and now seen in the case of urban dwellers, the alienative orientation raises levels of expectations while the calculative orientation depresses levels of expectations.

For rural dwellers, one notices that the ambivalent oriented have relatively the highest expectations (37.2 per cent) while the calculative oriented have the lowest expectations (17.9 per cent) compared to 31.2 per cent for

TABLE 5.10

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND RESIDENCE

		URBAN					RURAL				
		Orientation					Orientation				
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification	%	87.5 (14)	55.6 (15)	33.3 (4)	50.0 (21)	55.7 (54)	34.3 (12)	37.2 (29)	17.9 (5)	29.7 (38)	31.2 (84)
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels	%	12.5 (2)	44.4 (12)	66.7 (8)	50.0 (21)	44.3 (43)	65.7 (23)	62.8 (49)	82.1 (23)	70.3 (90)	68.8 (185)
Total	%	100 (16)	100 (27)	100 (12)	100 (42)	100 (97)	100 (35)	100 (78)	100 (28)	100 (128)	100 (269)
Total % with each orientation		16.5	27.8	12.4	43.3	100	13.0	29.0	10.4	47.6	100

the category as a whole. Thus for rural dwellers, the ambivalent orientation raises levels of expectations while the calculative orientation depresses expectations quite significantly.

The findings of Table 5.11 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to occupational aspirations and residence, indicate that the commitment orientation again consistently modifies the relationship between residence and occupational aspirations. For urban dwellers in terms of an executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar job, the alienative oriented have the highest aspirations (93.8 per cent) while the calculative oriented have the lowest aspirations (75 per cent) of the category as a whole (83.5 per cent). Again it is seen that the alienative orientation raises levels of aspirations while the calculative orientation does the opposite.

Rural dwellers follow a similar pattern to urban dwellers. While the highest occupational aspirational level of the category as a whole is 71.7 per cent, the alienative orientation raises aspirations significantly (88.6 per cent) while the calculative orientation has the effect of depressing aspirations (67.9 per cent). The other two orientations do not have any significant effect on respondents' aspirations.

Table 5.12 which summarises adolescents' commitment

TABLE 5.11

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND RESIDENCE

		URBAN					RURAL				
		Orientation					Orientation				
OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	%	93.8 (15)	77.8 (21)	75.0 (9)	85.7 (36)	83.5 (81)	88.6 (31)	69.2 (54)	67.9 (19)	69.5 (89)	71.7 (193)
Small-scale businessmen, shop-keepers, farmers, skilled, semi-skilled	%	6.2 (1)	22.2 (6)	25.0 (3)	14.3 (6)	16.5 (16)	11.4 (4)	30.8 (24)	32.1 (9)	30.5 (39)	28.3 (76)
Total	%	100 (16)	100 (27)	100 (12)	100 (42)	100 (97)	100 (35)	100 (78)	100 (28)	100 (128)	100 (269)
Total % with each orientation		16.5	27.8	12.4	43.3	100	13.0	29.0	10.4	47.6	100

TABLE 5.12

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND RESIDENCE

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		URBAN					RURAL				
		Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	%	68.8 (11)	70.4 (19)	83.3 (10)	69.0 (29)	71.1 (69)	60.0 (21)	60.3 (47)	50.0 (14)	70.3 (90)	63.9 (172)
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	%	31.2 (5)	29.6 (8)	16.7 (2)	31.0 (13)	28.9 (28)	40.0 (14)	39.7 (31)	50.0 (14)	29.7 (38)	36.1 (97)
Total	%	100 (16)	100 (27)	100 (12)	100 (42)	100 (97)	100 (35)	100 (78)	100 (28)	100 (128)	100 (269)
Total % with each orientation		16.5	27.8	12.4	43.3	100	13.0	29.0	10.4	47.6	100

orientation in relation to occupational expectations and residence, shows that the commitment orientation does affect the expectations of both urban and rural respondents. For urban respondents in relation to the highest occupational expectational level, the expectations of the category as a whole is 71.1 per cent. The findings show that the calculative orientation (83.3 per cent) enhances expectations significantly. The other orientations do not seem to have a marked effect on expectations.

For rural respondents, the highest occupational expectational level of the category as a whole is 63.9 per cent. The table indicates that the integrative orientation (70.3 per cent) raises levels of expectations while the calculative orientation (50 per cent) depresses expectations quite significantly. The other two orientations do not appear to affect levels of expectations.

In summary, of the four commitment orientations modifying the relationship between residence and aspirations and expectations, the following have the most important enhancing and depressing effects:

	URBAN		RURAL	
DEPENDENT VARIABLES	Most Enhancing	Most Depressing	Most Enhancing	Most Depressing
Educational aspirations	(No differences)		alienative	calculative
Educational expectations	alienative	calculative	ambivalent	calculative
Occupational Aspirations	alienative	calculative	alienative	calculative
Occupational Expectations	calculative	(No diff.)	integrative	calculative

As can be seen from the above, generally the alienative orientation tends to enhance aspirations and expectations while the calculative orientation tends to depress aspirations and expectations. The enhancing effect of the alienative orientation may be due to the notion that the alienative oriented desire the highest levels of educational and occupational qualifications they can get in order to seek occupational mobility abroad through emigration. The depressing effect of the calculative orientation may be due to the notion that individuals may be influenced by a kind of 'economic calculus' through which they are probably convinced that mobility should not be sought through education.

Apart from the alienative and calculative orientations, one finds that the ambivalent orientation enhances the educational expectations of rural residents. The ambivalent oriented are probably those who see the social structure as closed but do not hold any group responsible for such a situation. In fact, following closely on the enhancing effect of the ambivalent orientation is the enhancing effect of the integrative orientation on the occupational expectations of the rural sample. This shows that the rural sample is probably over-optimistic that its occupational expectations will be realised within the existing institutional complex.

'Sex' in Relation to Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

Again as in the case with residence, the relationship between respondents' sex status and (a) educational aspirations and expectations and (b) occupational aspirations and expectations is examined.

Table 5.13 which summarises adolescents' educational aspirations and expectations in relation to sex, indicates a few important trends. First, males have somewhat higher aspirations (86.3 per cent) for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification as compared with females (79.8 per cent) but males have significantly higher expectations (45.4 per cent) for this educational level as compared with females (29.5 per cent).

A second trend in the table is that females have somewhat higher aspirations (16.9 per cent) for a technical and vocational education as compared with males (8.7 per cent) but females have significantly higher expectations (33.3 per cent) for this educational level as compared with males (19.1 per cent). Similarly, females' expectations for G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels are slightly higher (37.2 per cent) than those of males (35.5 per cent).

These findings indicate that while females' aspirations are somewhat similar to those of males, females' expectations are much lower than those of males. This is probably due to a clear recognition by females of the

TABLE 5.13

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

IN RELATION TO SEX

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualifications:			
Aspirations	158	146	304
%	86.3	79.8	83.1
Expectations	83	54	137
%	45.4	29.5	37.4
% Discrepancy	42.9	50.3	45.7
Technical and vocational education:			
Aspirations	16	31	47
%	8.7	16.9	12.8
Expectations	35	61	96
%	19.1	33.3	26.2
% Discrepancy	-10.4	-16.4	-13.4
G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' Levels:			
Aspirations	9	6	15
%	4.9	3.3	4.1
Expectations	65	68	133
%	35.5	37.2	36.3
% Discrepancy	-25.6	-33.9	-32.2
Total (Aspirations or Expectations)	183	183	366
%	100	100	100

GAMMA for Educational Aspirations is 0.2. Significance (2 tailed) is 0.145.

GAMMA for Educational Expectations is 0.166. Significance (2 tailed) is 0.06.

structural constraints present in the society. These structural constraints are probably located in family structure, the job market, societal tradition or discrimination in employment directed at females. The fact that females have somewhat similar aspirations to males (the percentage difference is less than 10) for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification, shows not a lack of ambition on the part of females but only a lack of perceived opportunity. Similarly, the fact that more females expect to have a technical and vocational education and the higher aspirations/expectations percentage discrepancy for females suggest that females are fully aware of their sex status being an added disadvantage in an already bad situation for all youth.

In Table 5.14 which summarises adolescents' occupational aspirations and expectations in relation to sex, one finds that males have significantly higher aspirations (84.7 per cent) than females (65 per cent) for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs. However, females have somewhat similar expectations (63.9 per cent) to males (67.8 per cent) for this occupational level. When one examines the aspirations and expectations for skilled and semi-skilled occupations, it is found that 33.9 per cent females compared with only 11.5 per cent males have aspirations for this

TABLE 5.14

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

IN RELATION TO SEX

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar:			
Aspirations	155	119	274
%	84.7	65.0	74.9
Expectations	124	117	241
%	67.8	63.9	65.8
% Discrepancy	16.9	1.1	9.1
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers and farmers:			
Aspirations	7	2	9
%	3.8	1.1	2.5
Expectations	14	6	20
%	7.7	3.3	5.5
% Discrepancy	-3.9	-2.2	-3.0
Skilled and semi-skilled:			
Aspirations	21	62	83
%	11.5	33.9	22.9
Expectations	25	44	69
%	13.7	24.0	18.9
% Discrepancy	-2.2	9.9	4.0
Unskilled, housewives, unemployed, etc.:			
Expectations only	20	16	36
%	10.9	8.7	9.8
Total (Aspirations or Expectations)	183	183	366
%	100	100	100

GAMMA for Occupational Aspirations is 0.51. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.0.

GAMMA for Occupational Expectations is 0.08. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.03.

occupational level; 24 per cent females and 13 per cent males have expectations for this occupational level.

These findings indicate that while females' educational aspirations and expectations and occupational aspirations may be lower than males', females' occupational expectations appear not only to be similar to males' but females' occupational expectations are much more realistic than those of males and appear to be guided by the structural constraints of the society. This more realistic attitude is readily illustrated by the smaller aspirations/expectations percentage discrepancy for females especially in relation to the first and second occupational categories of Table 5.14.

The Mediating Effect of the Intervening Variables

Tables 5.15, 5.16, 5.17 and 5.18 examine the mediating effect of 'parental occupational aspirations' on the relationship between sex and educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. The findings generally indicate that parental occupational aspirations do mediate the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Parental aspirations generally seem to influence males more than females, especially in regard to levels of expectations. Tables 5.13 and 5.14 suggest, however, that perception of structural constraints works somewhat more to the detriment of females than males. This

TABLE 5.15

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND SEX

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		MALE				FEMALE			
		Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' Levels	Total	Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' Levels	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		67	10	4	81	55	11	2	68
	%	82.7	12.3	4.9	100	80.9	16.2	2.9	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		9	1	1	11	32	10	2	44
	%	81.8	9.1	9.1	100	72.7	22.7	4.5	100
(Don't know)		82	5	4	91	59	10	2	71
	%	90.1	5.5	4.4	100	83.1	14.1	2.8	100
Total		158	16	9	183	146	31	6	183
	%	86.3	8.7	4.9	100	79.8	16.9	3.3	100

TABLE 5.16

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND SEX

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		MALE				FEMALE			
		Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' Levels	Total	Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' Levels	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		44	16	21	81	27	15	26	68
	%	54.3	19.8	25.9	100	39.7	22.1	38.2	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		3	2	6	11	5	24	15	44
	%	27.3	18.2	54.5	100	11.4	54.5	34.1	100
(Don't know)		36	17	38	91	22	22	27	71
	%	39.6	18.7	41.8	100	31.0	31.0	38.0	100
Total		83	35	65	183	54	61	68	183
	%	45.4	19.1	35.5	100	29.5	33.3	37.2	100

TABLE 5.17

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND SEX

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		MALE				FEMALE			
		Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled	Total	Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		75	1	5	81	54	0	14	68
	%	92.6	1.2	6.2	100	79.4		20.6	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		4	0	7	11	19	0	25	44
	%	36.4		63.6	100	43.2		56.8	100
(Don't know)		76	6	9	91	46	2	23	71
	%	83.5	6.6	9.9	100	64.8	2.8	32.4	100
Total		155	7	21	183	119	2	62	183
	%	84.7	3.8	11.5	100	65.0	1.1	33.9	100

TABLE 5.18

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND SEX

		MALE				FEMALE			
PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	Total	Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		64	4	13	81	52	0	16	68
	%	79.0	4.9	16.0	100	76.5		22.5	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		3	1	7	11	17	2	25	44
	%	27.3	9.1	63.6	100	38.6	4.5	56.8	100
(Don't know)		57	9	25	91	48	4	19	71
	%	62.6	9.9	27.5	100	67.6	5.6	26.8	100
Total		124	14	45	183	117	6	60	183
	%	67.8	7.7	24.6	100	63.9	3.3	32.8	100

shows that even if parents' concern for the mobility of males and females were alike, one should expect to find sex related differences. This would be untrue only if all of the structural constraints were located within the family. Now this is quite possible but there is no evidence available.

In Table 5.19 which summarises adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to educational aspirations and sex, a preliminary observation that can be made is that males are more highly alienated (18.6 per cent) than females (9.3 per cent). In addition, females are characterised by a substantively higher level of integration (54.6 per cent) in the society as compared with males (38.2 per cent). These findings suggest that females have a more optimistic view of their life chances in the society as compared with males.

Table 5.19 also shows that the commitment orientation does modify the relationship between sex and educational aspirations. For males, the highest educational aspirations of the category as a whole is 86.3 per cent. As previously seen, the alienative orientation (91.2 per cent) raises levels of aspirations while the calculative orientation (76 per cent) depresses aspirations significantly. The other two orientations have no effect on aspirations.

In the case of females, the highest educational

TABLE 5.19

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND SEX

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		MALE					FEMALE				
		Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification	%	91.2 (31)	88.9 (48)	76.0 (19)	85.7 (60)	86.3 (158)	88.2 (15)	76.5 (39)	73.3 (11)	82.0 (82)	80.3 (147)
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels	%	8.8 (3)	11.1 (6)	24.0 (6)	14.3 (10)	13.7 (25)	11.8 (2)	23.5 (12)	26.7 (4)	18.0 (18)	19.7 (36)
Total		100 (34)	100 (54)	100 (25)	100 (70)	100 (183)	100 (17)	100 (51)	100 (15)	100 (100)	100 (183)
Total % with each orientation		18.6	29.5	13.7	38.2	100	9.3	27.9	8.2	54.6	100

aspirational level for the category as a whole is 80.3 per cent. In a somewhat similar manner to males, the alienative orientation (88.2 per cent) enhances aspirations while the calculative orientation (73.3 per cent) depresses aspirations. Additionally, the ambivalent orientation (76.5 per cent) depresses aspirations slightly; the integrative orientation hardly affects aspirations.

Table 5.20 which summarises adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to educational expectations and sex, again shows that the commitment orientation affects the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. For males in relation to the highest expectational level of education, the expectation is 45.4 per cent for the category as a whole. As can be seen from the table, the alienative orientation (58.8 per cent) enhances expectations significantly while the calculative orientation (36 per cent) depresses expectations. The ambivalent orientation does not seem to affect expectations while the integrative orientation (41.4 per cent) depresses expectations slightly.

The highest educational expectational level for females is 30.1 per cent. The findings indicate that the ambivalent orientation (37.3 per cent) enhances expectations while the calculative orientation (zero) depresses expectations considerably. The alienative orientation (35.3 per cent) also raises expectations slightly; the

TABLE 5.20

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND SEX

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		MALE					FEMALE				
		Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification	%	58.8 (20)	46.3 (25)	36.0 (9)	41.4 (29)	45.4 (83)	35.3 (6)	37.3 (19)	0	30.0 (30)	30.1 (55)
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels	%	41.2 (14)	53.7 (29)	64.0 (16)	58.6 (41)	54.6 (100)	64.7 (11)	62.7 (32)	100 (15)	70.0 (70)	69.9 (128)
Total	%	100 (34)	100 (54)	100 (25)	100 (70)	100 (183)	100 (17)	100 (51)	100 (15)	100 (100)	100 (183)
Total % with each orientation		18.6	29.5	13.7	38.2	100	9.3	27.9	8.2	54.6	100

integrative orientation has no effect on levels of expectations.

Table 5.21 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to occupational aspirations and sex, shows that the commitment orientation does modify the relationship between sex and aspirations. In the case of males in terms of aspirations for the highest occupational level, the aspirations for the category as a whole is 84.7 per cent. The alienative orientation (94.1 per cent) raises aspirations significantly while the ambivalent orientation (77.8 per cent) has the opposite effect. The integrative orientation (87.1 per cent) also raises aspirations slightly; the calculative orientation (80 per cent) depresses aspirations slightly.

The table shows that the highest occupational aspirational level for females is 65 per cent for the category as a whole. As can be seen, the alienative orientation (82.4 per cent) raises aspirations considerably while the calculative orientation (53.3 per cent) has the opposite effect. The other two orientations do not seem to affect aspirations.

In Table 5.22 which summarises respondents' commitment orientation in relation to occupational expectations and sex, the commitment orientation again modifies the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. While expectations for the highest occupational

TABLE 5.21

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND SEX

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL	MALE					FEMALE				
	Orientation					Orientation				
	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	% 94.1 (32)	77.8 (42)	80.0 (20)	87.1 (61)	84.7 (155)	82.4 (14)	64.7 (33)	53.3 (8)	64.0 (64)	65.0 (119)
Small-scale businessmen, shop-keepers, farmers, skilled, semi-skilled	% 5.9 (2)	22.2 (12)	20.0 (5)	12.9 (9)	15.3 (28)	17.6 (3)	35.3 (18)	46.7 (7)	36.0 (36)	35.0 (64)
Total	% 100 (34)	100 (54)	100 (25)	100 (70)	100 (183)	100 (17)	100 (51)	100 (15)	100 (100)	100 (183)
Total % with each orientation	18.6	29.5	13.7	38.2	100	9.3	27.9	8.2	54.6	100

TABLE 5.22

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND SEX

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		MALE					FEMALE				
		Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	%	58.8 (20)	66.7 (36)	68.0 (17)	72.9 (51)	67.8 (124)	70.6 (12)	58.8 (30)	46.7 (7)	68.0 (68)	63.9 (117)
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, housewives	%	41.2 (14)	33.3 (18)	32.0 (8)	27.1 (19)	32.2 (59)	29.4 (5)	41.2 (21)	53.3 (8)	32.0 (32)	36.1 (66)
Total	%	100 (34)	100 (54)	100 (25)	100 (70)	100 (183)	100 (17)	100 (51)	100 (15)	100 (100)	100 (183)
Total % with each orientation		18.6	29.5	13.7	38.2	100	9.3	27.9	8.2	54.6	100

level is 67.8 per cent for the male category as a whole, the integrative orientation (72.9 per cent) enhances expectations slightly while the alienative orientation (58.8 per cent) has the opposite effect. The other two orientations do not appear to have any effect on expectations.

The highest occupational expectational level for the female category as a whole is 63.9 per cent. The findings show that the alienative orientation (70.6 per cent) raises expectations while the calculative orientation (46.7 per cent) depresses expectations significantly. The ambivalent orientation (58.8 per cent) also has a slight depressing effect while the integrative orientation (68 per cent) has a slight enhancing effect on expectations.

To summarize, of the four commitment orientations modifying the relationship between sex and aspirations and expectations, the following have the most important enhancing and depressing effects:

	MALES		FEMALES	
DEPENDENT VARIABLES	Most Enhancing	Most Depressing	Most Enhancing	Most Depressing
Educational aspirations	alienative	calculative	alienative	calculative
Educational expectations	alienative	calculative	ambivalent	calculative
Occupational aspirations	alienative	ambivalent	alienative	calculative
Occupational expectations	integrative	alienative	alienative	calculative

As in the case of residence and now seen in the case of sex, the general tendency is that the alienative orientation enhances aspirations and expectations while the calculative orientation has the opposite effect. The possible reasons for these effects are the same advanced in the case of residence.

Apart from the above, one notices that the ambivalent orientation has a depressing effect on the occupational aspirations of males. This may be due to the notion that males have no particular ideas in terms of who are responsible for many of the problems which males face in the society. As far as males' occupational expectations are concerned, the enhancing effect of the integrative orientation suggests that males view the social structure quite favourably in terms of the realization of their occupational expectations.

The pattern with regard to females is quite consistent except in the case of their educational expectations. The enhancing effect of the ambivalent orientation suggests that females are aware of the structural barriers and pressures operating in the society. Females, however, apparently do not hold any particular group responsible for this situation.

Social Class (S.E.S.) in Relation to Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

It should be pointed out first that in the preceding chapters the notion of social class was used to refer more or less to particular kinds of relationships between groups since the analysis of these chapters was more of a structural nature. In this chapter the notion of social class refers more to specific kinds of behaviour between groups since the analysis is mainly social-psychological in nature.

As in the case with residence and sex, the relationship between respondents' social class status and (a) educational aspirations and expectations and (b) occupational aspirations and expectations is examined.

From Table 5.23 which summarises adolescents' educational aspirations and expectations in relation to S.E.S., it is quite clear that S.E.S. does influence the educational aspirations and expectations of adolescents. For instance, the high S.E.S. category has the highest aspirations (90.8 per cent) and highest expectations (70.8 per cent) for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification. The middle S.E.S. category has the second highest aspirations (85 per cent) and expectations (32.7 per cent) for this level of education. The low S.E.S. category has relatively the lowest aspirations (79.3 per cent) and expectations (28.7 per

TABLE 5.23

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL CLASS

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS	HIGH S.E.S.	MIDDLE S.E.S.	LOW S.E.S.	TOTAL
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualifications:				
Aspirations	59	96	149	304
%	90.8	85.0	79.3	83.1
Expectations	46	37	54	137
%	70.8	32.7	28.7	37.4
% Discrepancy	20.0	52.3	50.6	45.7
Technical and vocational education:				
Aspirations	6	13	28	47
%	9.2	11.5	14.9	12.8
Expectations	10	35	51	96
%	15.4	31.0	27.1	26.2
% Discrepancy	-6.2	-19.5	-12.2	-13.4
G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' Levels:				
Aspirations	0	4	11	15
%		3.5	5.9	4.1
Expectations	9	41	83	133
%	13.8	36.3	44.1	36.3
% Discrepancy	-13.8	-32.8	-38.2	-32.2
Total (Aspirations or Expectations)	65	113	188	366
%	100	100	100	100

GAMMA for Educational Aspirations is 0.28. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.02.

GAMMA for Educational Expectations is 0.37. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.0.

cent) for this level of education though the expectational level of the low S.E.S. category is somewhat similar to that of the middle S.E.S. category. These findings occur in a predictable manner and suggest that the different groups' socio-economic status positions in the social structure probably have a good deal of influence on their aspirations and expectations.

A second trend in the table is that the middle S.E.S. category has the highest expectations (31 per cent) for a technical and vocational education, followed by the low S.E.S. category (27.1 per cent) and the high S.E.S. category (15.4 per cent). These findings suggest that the middle and low S.E.S. categories' educational expectations are probably geared to the kinds of jobs (skilled and semi-skilled) they expect to have in the society (a similar point already made in reference to rural dwellers and females). In contrast, not many of the high S.E.S. category have expectations for these types of jobs.

A third trend in the table is that the high S.E.S. category has the smallest percentage discrepancy between aspirations and expectations. For instance, in regard to a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification, the percentage discrepancy is 20 per cent for the high S.E.S. category, but 50.6 per cent for the low S.E.S. category and 52.3 per cent for the middle S.E.S. category. Similarly, with reference to technical and vocational education, the percentage discrepancy is -6.2 per cent for the high S.E.S. category, -12.2 per cent for the low S.E.S. category and -19.5 per cent for the middle S.E.S. category. One implication of these findings is that of the three categories, the high S.E.S. category probably has the most optimistic view of its life chances, followed by the low S.E.S. category and the middle S.E.S. category, in relation to aspirations and expectations for education. Another implication, noticed especially from the high expectations by the middle and low S.E.S. categories for technical and vocational education and G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels, is that these two categories seem to have a clear recognition of the structural pressures and constraints existing in the society, hence their lower levels of educational expectations.

Turning now to the relationship between occupational aspirations and expectations and S.E.S., one finds similar trends observed in relation to educational aspirations and expectations. Furthermore, as previously seen, occupational aspirations and expectations correspond closely with educational aspirations and expectations, thereby demonstrating the education-occupation linkage alluded to earlier in this chapter.

As in the case with educational aspirations and expectations, the first trend observed in relation to Table 5.24 is that S.E.S. does significantly influence

TABLE 5.24

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL CLASS

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS	HIGH S.E.S.	MIDDLE S.E.S.	LOW S.E.S.	TOTAL
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar:				
Aspirations	55	89	130	274
%	84.6	78.8	69.1	74.9
Expectations	49	77	115	241
%	75.4	68.1	61.2	65.8
% Discrepancy	9.2	10.7	7.9	9.1
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers and farmers:				
Aspirations	0	1	8	9
%		0.9	4.3	2.5
Expectations	1	8	11	20
%	1.5	7.1	5.9	5.5
% Discrepancy	-1.5	-6.2	-1.6	3.0
Skilled and semi-skilled:				
Aspirations	10	23	50	83
%	15.4	20.4	26.6	22.7
Expectations	8	21	40	69
%	12.3	18.6	21.3	18.9
% Discrepancy	3.1	1.8	5.3	3.8
Unskilled, housewives, unemployed, etc.:				
Expectations only	7	7	22	36
%	10.8	6.2	11.7	9.8
Total (Aspirations or expectations)	65	113	188	366
%	100	100	100	100

GAMMA for Occupational Aspirations is 0.27. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.01.

GAMMA for Occupational Expectations is 0.18. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.04.

occupational aspirations and expectations. For instance, in regard to executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs, the high S.E.S. category has the highest aspirations (84.6 per cent) and expectations (75.4 per cent) for this occupational level. The middle S.E.S. category has the second highest aspirations (78.8 per cent) and expectations (68.1 per cent) for this occupational level. The low S.E.S. category has relatively the lowest aspirations (69.1 per cent) and expectations (61.2 per cent) for this occupational level. These findings follow a predicted pattern and the probable explanation for these findings is the same advanced in relation to respondents' educational aspirations and expectations.

A second trend in the table is in regard to skilled and semi-skilled employment, the aspirations and expectations for which correspond closely to those for technical and vocational education. The low S.E.S. category has the highest aspirations (26.6 per cent) and expectations (21.3 per cent) for skilled and semi-skilled jobs. The middle S.E.S. category has the second highest aspirations (20.4 per cent) and expectations (18.6 per cent) for this occupational level. The high S.E.S. category has the lowest aspirations (15.4 per cent) and expectations (12.3 per cent) for this occupational level. The consistent pattern previously observed and commented upon in relation to other groups is once again seen in relation especially to the low and middle S.E.S. categories. As already explained, the expectational levels of these categories illustrate a clear recognition of the structural constraints and pressures which have to be faced in the society.

Another trend in the table concerns the percentage discrepancy between aspirations/expectations for each S.E.S. category. The percentage discrepancy for each category is generally not large, which further illustrates the notion that each S.E.S. category seems to have a realistic view of its life chances in the society as far as their occupational aspirations/expectations are concerned.

The Mediating Effect of the Intervening Variables

Tables 5.25, 5.26, 5.27 and 5.28 examine the mediating effect of 'parental occupational aspirations' on the relationship between respondents' S.E.S. and educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. As in the case with residence and sex, the findings indicate that parental aspirations do affect the aspirations and expectations of each S.E.S. category of respondents. This influence appears to be more marked on occupational aspirations and expectations, which suggests not only a reinforcement of the already very high levels of occupational aspirations and expectations of respondents but also parents' ideas of what kinds of jobs respondents should

TABLE 5.25

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND S.E.S.

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		HIGH S.E.S.				MIDDLE S.E.S.				LOW S.E.S.			
		Subprof. ed., univ. degree or prof. qual.	Technical and vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total	Subprof. ed., univ. degree or prof. qual.	Technical and vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total	Subprof. ed., univ. degree or prof. qual.	Technical and vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		23	5	0	28	39	6	0	49	60	10	6	76
	%	82.1	17.9		100	86.7	13.3		100	78.9	13.2	7.9	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		3	0	0	3	14	5	0	19	24	6	3	33
	%	100			100	73.7	26.3		100	72.7	18.2	9.1	100
(Don't know)		33	1	0	34	43	2	4	49	65	12	2	79
	%	97.1	2.9		100	87.8	4.1	8.2	100	82.3	15.2	2.5	100
Total		59	6	0	65	96	13	4	113	149	28	11	188
	%	90.8	9.2		100	85.0	11.5	3.5	100	79.3	14.9	5.9	100

TABLE 5.26

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND S.E.S.

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		HIGH S.E.S.				MIDDLE S.E.S.				LOW S.E.S.			
		Subprof. ed., univ. degree or prof. qual.	Technical and vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total	Subprof. ed., univ. degree or prof. qual.	Technical and vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total	Subprof. ed., univ. degree or prof. qual.	Technical and vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' levels	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		21	4	3	28	21	14	10	45	29	13	34	76
	%	75.0	14.3	10.7	100	46.7	31.1	22.2	100	38.2	17.1	44.7	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		2	1	0	3	1	9	9	19	5	16	12	33
	%	66.7	33.1		100	5.3	47.4	47.4	100	15.2	48.5	36.4	100
(Don't know)		23	5	6	34	15	12	22	49	20	22	37	79
	%	67.6	14.7	17.6	100	30.6	24.5	44.9	100	25.3	27.8	46.8	100
Total		46	10	9	65	37	35	41	113	54	51	83	188
	%	70.8	15.4	13.8	100	32.7	31.0	36.3	100	28.7	27.1	44.1	100

TABLE 5.27

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND S.E.S.

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		HIGH S.E.S.				MIDDLE S.E.S.				LOW S.E.S.			
		Executive, prof., teaching, clerical, etc.	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers,etc.	Skilled and semi-skilled	Total	Executive, prof., teaching, clerical, etc.	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers,etc.	Skilled and semi-skilled	Total	Executive, prof., teaching, clerical, etc.	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers,etc.	Skilled and semi-skilled	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		24	0	4	28	41	0	4	45	64	1	11	76
	%	85.7		14.3	100	91.1		8.9	100	84.2	1.3	14.5	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		2	0	1	3	8	0	11	20	13	0	20	33
	%	66.7		33.3	100	42.1		57.9	100	39.4		60.6	100
(Don't know)		29	0	5	34	40	1	8	49	53	7	19	79
	%	85.3		14.7	100	81.6	2.0	16.3	100	67.1	8.9	24.1	100
Total		55	0	10	65	89	1	23	113	130	8	50	188
	%	84.6		15.4	100	78.8	0.9	20.4	100	69.1	4.3	26.6	100

TABLE 5.28

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND S.E.S.

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		HIGH S.E.S.				MIDDLE S.E.S.				LOW S.E.S.			
		Executive, prof., teaching, clerical, etc.	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, etc	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskil., unemployed, etc.	Total	Executive, prof., teaching, clerical, etc.	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, etc	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskil., unemployed, etc.	Total	Executive, prof., teaching, clerical, etc.	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, etc	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskil., unemployed, etc	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		23	1	4	28	37	2	6	45	56	1	19	76
	%	82.1	3.6	14.3	100	82.2	4.4	13.3	100	73.7	1.3	25.0	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		2	0	1	3	6	1	12	19	12	2	19	33
	%	66.7		33.3	100	31.6	5.3	63.2	100	36.4	6.1	57.6	100
(Don't know)		24	0	10	34	34	5	10	49	47	8	24	79
	%	70.6		29.4	100	69.4	10.2	20.4	100	59.5	10.1	30.4	100
Total		49	1	15	65	77	8	28	113	115	11	62	188
	%	75.4	1.5	23.1	100	68.1	7.1	24.8	100	61.2	5.9	33.0	100

be aiming for in the society, i.e., jobs in the modern and service sectors.

Table 5.29 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to educational aspirations and S.E.S., shows that the commitment orientation does modify the relationship between S.E.S. and aspirations. For the high S.E.S. category, while aspirations for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification are 92.3 per cent for the category as a whole, the alienative orientation (100 per cent) as well as the calculative orientation (100 per cent) act so as to raise aspirations. The integrative and ambivalent orientations do not affect aspirations very much.

For the middle S.E.S. category, the highest educational aspirational level for the category as a whole is 85 per cent. As can be seen, the integrative orientation (90.2 per cent) and the alienative orientation (88.2 per cent) serve to enhance aspirations while the calculative orientation (63.6 per cent) depresses aspirations significantly. The ambivalent orientation hardly affects aspirations.

In the case of the low S.E.S. category, while the highest educational aspirational level for the category as a whole is 79.3 per cent, the alienative orientation (86.4 per cent) raises aspirations somewhat and the calculative orientation (75 per cent) depresses aspirations slightly.

TABLE 5.29

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND S.E.S.

		HIGH S.E.S.					MIDDLE S.E.S.					LOW S.E.S.				
		Orientation					Orientation					Orientation				
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification	%	100 (12)	88.2 (15)	100 (5)	90.3 (28)	92.3 (60)	88.2 (15)	82.4 (28)	63.6 (7)	90.2 (46)	85.0 (96)	86.4 (19)	81.5 (44)	75.0 (18)	77.3 (68)	79.3 (149)
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels	%	0	11.8 (2)	0	9.7 (3)	7.7 (5)	11.8 (2)	17.6 (6)	33.4 (4)	9.8 (5)	15.0 (17)	13.6 (3)	18.5 (10)	25.0 (6)	22.7 (20)	20.7 (39)
Total	%	100 (12)	100 (17)	100 (5)	100 (31)	100 (65)	100 (17)	100 (34)	100 (11)	100 (51)	100 (113)	100 (22)	100 (54)	100 (24)	100 (88)	100 (188)
Total % with each orientation		18.5	26.1	7.7	47.7	100	15.0	30.1	9.7	45.1	99.9	11.7	28.7	12.8	46.8	100

The other two orientations hardly affect aspirations.

Table 5.30 which summarises adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to educational expectations and S.E.S., indicates that the commitment orientation again performs a modifying function. Considering each S.E.S. category in turn, one finds that while expectations for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification is 72.3 per cent for the high S.E.S. category as a whole, the alienative orientation (83.3 per cent) as well as the ambivalent orientation (82.4 per cent) enhance expectations considerably. The calculative orientation (60 per cent) is seen to depress expectations significantly. The integrative orientation (64.5 per cent) also has a depressing effect on expectations.

The highest educational expectational level for the middle S.E.S. category as a whole is 32.7 per cent. The table shows that the alienative orientation (52.9 per cent) raises expectations significantly while the calculative orientation (9.1 per cent) depresses expectations significantly. The other two orientations hardly affect expectations.

The highest educational expectational level of the low S.E.S. category is 28.7 per cent. While the ambivalent orientation (33.3 per cent) raises expectations slightly, the calculative orientation (20.8 per cent) acts so as to depress expectations. The other two orientations do not

TABLE 5.30

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND S.E.S.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		HIGH S.E.S.					MIDDLE S.E.S.					LOW S.E.S.				
		Orientation					Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification	%	83.3 (10)	82.4 (14)	60.0 (3)	64.5 (20)	72.3 (47)	52.9 (9)	35.3 (12)	9.1 (1)	29.4 (15)	32.7 (37)	31.8 (7)	33.3 (18)	20.8 (5)	27.3 (24)	28.7 (54)
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels	%	16.7 (2)	17.6 (3)	40.0 (2)	35.5 (11)	27.7 (18)	47.1 (8)	64.7 (22)	90.9 (10)	70.6 (36)	67.3 (76)	68.2 (15)	66.7 (36)	79.2 (19)	72.7 (64)	71.3 (134)
Total	%	100 (12)	100 (17)	100 (5)	100 (31)	100 (65)	100 (17)	100 (34)	100 (11)	100 (51)	100 (113)	100 (22)	100 (54)	100 (24)	100 (88)	100 (188)
Total % with each orientation		18.5	26.1	7.7	47.7	100	15.0	30.1	9.7	45.1	99.9	11.7	28.7	12.8	46.8	100

affect expectations very much.

In Table 5.31 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to occupational aspirations and S.E.S., the commitment orientation is again seen to modify the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. While the aspirations of the high S.E.S. category for an executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar job are 84.6 per cent for the category as a whole, the alienative orientation (91.7 per cent) and the integrative orientation (87.1 per cent) raise levels of aspirations. The ambivalent orientation (76.5 per cent) depresses aspirations; the same is the case to some extent with the calculative orientation (80 per cent).

For the middle S.E.S. category, the highest occupational aspirational level for the category as a whole is 78.8 per cent. The table shows that the alienative orientation (94.1 per cent) and the calculative orientation (90.9 per cent) raise aspirations significantly. The ambivalent orientation (67.6 per cent) depresses aspirations significantly. The integrative orientation has no effect on aspirations.

In the case of the low S.E.S. category, the highest occupational aspirational level for the category as a whole is 69.1 per cent. The findings indicate that the alienative orientation (86.4 per cent) raises aspirations

TABLE 5.31

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND S.E.S.

		HIGH S.E.S.					MIDDLE S.E.S.					LOW S.E.S.				
		Orientation					Orientation					Orientation				
OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	%	91.7 (11)	76.5 (13)	80.0 (4)	87.1 (27)	84.6 (55)	94.1 (16)	67.6 (23)	90.9 (10)	78.4 (40)	78.8 (89)	86.4 (19)	72.2 (39)	58.3 (14)	65.9 (58)	69.1 (130)
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, skilled, semi-skilled	%	8.3 (1)	23.5 (4)	20.0 (1)	12.9 (4)	15.4 (10)	5.9 (1)	32.4 (11)	9.1 (1)	21.6 (11)	21.2 (24)	13.6 (3)	27.8 (15)	41.7 (10)	34.1 (30)	30.9 (58)
Total	%	100 (12)	100 (17)	100 (5)	100 (31)	100 (65)	100 (17)	100 (34)	100 (11)	100 (51)	100 (113)	100 (22)	100 (54)	100 (24)	100 (88)	100 (188)
Total % with each orientation		18.5	26.1	7.7	47.7	100	15.0	30.1	9.7	45.1	99.9	11.7	28.7	12.8	46.8	100

significantly while the calculative orientation (58.3 per cent) depresses aspirations significantly. The other two orientations hardly affect aspirations.

Table 5.32 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to occupational expectations and S.E.S., again demonstrates the modifying effect of the commitment orientation. With reference to the high S.E.S. category, 73.4 per cent of the category as a whole have expectations for an executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar job. The table shows that the alienative orientation (83.3 per cent) raises expectations significantly. The ambivalent orientation (82.4 per cent) and the calculative orientation (80 per cent) also raise levels of expectations. The integrative orientation (67.7 per cent) has a depressing effect on expectations.

The highest occupational expectational level for the middle S.E.S. category as a whole is 68.1 per cent. The findings show that none of the orientations has any marked effect on expectations.

In reference to the low S.E.S. category, the highest occupational expectational level for the category as a whole is 61.2 per cent. As can be seen, the integrative orientation (69.3 per cent) raises levels of expectations while the alienative orientation (50 per cent) depresses expectations significantly. The ambivalent orientation (55.6 per cent) and the calculative orientation

TABLE 5.32

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND S.E.S.

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		HIGH S.E.S.					MIDDLE S.E.S.					LOW S.E.S.				
		Orientation					Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	%	83.3 (10)	82.4 (14)	80.0 (4)	67.7 (21)	73.4 (49)	64.7 (11)	64.7 (22)	63.6 (7)	72.5 (37)	68.1 (77)	50.0 (11)	55.6 (30)	54.2 (13)	69.3 (61)	61.2 (115)
Small-scale businessmen, shop-keepers, farmers, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	%	16.7 (2)	17.6 (3)	20.0 (1)	32.3 (10)	24.6 (16)	35.3 (6)	35.3 (12)	36.4 (4)	27.5 (14)	31.9 (36)	50.0 (11)	44.4 (24)	45.8 (11)	30.7 (27)	38.8 (73)
Total	%	100 (12)	100 (17)	100 (5)	100 (31)	100 (65)	100 (17)	100 (34)	100 (11)	100 (51)	100 (113)	100 (22)	100 (54)	100 (24)	100 (88)	100 (188)
Total % with each orientation		18.5	26.1	7.7	47.7	100	15.0	30.1	9.7	45.1	99.9	11.7	28.7	12.8	46.8	100

(54.2 per cent) also appear to have a depressing effect on expectations.

To summarise the main modifying effects of adolescents' commitment orientation on S.E.S. and educational aspirations, educational expectations, occupational aspirations and occupational expectations, in terms of the most enhancing and the most depressing effects, the following appears to be the trend:

DEPENDENT VARIABLES	HIGH S.E.S. A	HIGH S.E.S. B	MIDDLE S.E.S. A	MIDDLE S.E.S. B	LOW S.E.S. A	LOW S.E.S. B
Ed. Aspir.	alienative; calculative	n.e.	integrative	calculative	alienative	calculative
Ed. Expect.	alienative; ambivalent	calculative	alienative	calculative	ambivalent	calculative
Occ. Aspir.	alienative	ambivalent	calculative; alienative	ambivalent	alienative	calculative
Occ. Expect.	alienative	integrative	n.e.	n.e.	integrative	alienative

Note: A denotes commitment orientation that enhances.
B denotes commitment orientation that depresses.
n.e. denotes no effect of commitment orientation.

The above pattern is almost similar to those observed in relation to residence and sex. However, there seems to be slight variations in commitment orientations between each of the S.E.S. categories. With regard to educational aspirations, both the alienative and calculative orientations enhance the aspirations of the high S.E.S. category. This suggests that there is a congruence between the high aspirations of this S.E.S. category and its determination to seek occupational mobility abroad. On the other hand, the enhancing effect of the integrative orientation for the middle S.E.S. category suggests that this category is quite optimistic that its educational aspirations will be realised within the society.

With regard to educational expectations, one notices that both the alienative and ambivalent orientations have an enhancing effect on the high S.E.S. category. This suggests that some in the high S.E.S. category perceive barriers to mobility but are not prepared to blame any particular group for this situation. The same is the case with the low S.E.S. category.

In the case of occupational expectations, the integrative orientation has a depressing effect for the high S.E.S. category and an enhancing effect for the low S.E.S. category. While this researcher finds it difficult to speculate on the reason for the depressing effect on the high S.E.S. category, in the case of the low S.E.S. category it can be argued that individuals have a favourable view of their life chances in the society in terms of realising their occupational expectations. The depressing effect of the alienative orientation on the occupational expectations of the low S.E.S. category suggests that a certain proportion of the low S.E.S. category seems to pin its hopes for occupational mobility abroad.

Ethnicity in Relation to Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

Again it should be first noted that for the purpose of analysis, the relationship between respondents' ethnic status and (a) educational aspirations and expectations and (b) occupational aspirations and expectations is examined.

From Table 5.33 which examines adolescents' educational aspirations and expectations in relation to ethnicity, a few interesting trends are noticeable. First, East Indians have slightly higher aspirations (85.9 per cent) for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification in comparison with Africans and Coloureds (82.9 per cent) but Africans and Coloureds have slightly higher expectations (40.7 per cent) for this level of education in comparison with East Indians (36.9 per cent). The probable reason for this situation is a political one closely related to the plural nature of the society. In a context where ethnicity and voting preferences have traditionally been related and where the main political parties (P.P.P., P.N.C., U.F.) have constantly manipulated the various ethnic groups in order to gain power and authority, Africans and Coloureds probably believe that the present ruling party (P.N.C.) exists to serve the needs of Africans and Coloureds before those of

TABLE 5.33

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS IN RELATION TO ETHNICITY

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS	EAST INDIANS	AFRICANS AND COLOUREDS	OTHERS	TOTAL
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification:				
Aspirations	177	116	11	304
%	85.9	82.9	55.0	83.1
Expectations	76	57	4	137
%	36.9	40.7	20.0	37.4
% Discrepancy	49.0	42.2	35.0	45.7
Technical and vocational education:				
Aspirations	28	17	2	47
%	13.6	12.1	10.0	12.8
Expectations	56	39	1	96
%	27.2	27.9	5.0	26.2
% Discrepancy	-13.6	-15.8	5.0	-13.4
G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' Levels:				
Aspirations	1	7	7	15
%	0.5	5.0	35.0	4.1
Expectations	74	44	15	133
%	35.9	31.4	75.0	36.3
% Discrepancy	-35.4	-26.4	-40.0	-32.2
Total (Aspirations or expectations)	206	140	20	366
%	100	100	100	100

GAMMA for Educational Aspirations is 0.3. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.01.

GAMMA for Educational Expectations is 0.05. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.6.

Note: (a) The Africans and Coloureds are combined since the two groups have a similar political outlook, style of life and culture.
(b) The 'Others' category is omitted from the analysis because of the smallness of the figures in the cells.

other groups. Thus Africans and Coloureds would probably have higher expectations than East Indians because of the former group's belief that their expectations would be met by a government which they have largely helped to put into power and authority.

Another trend in Table 5.33 concerns the percentage discrepancy between aspirations/expectations for each of the two ethnic categories under review. Again taking the highest educational level into consideration (subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification) the percentage discrepancy for Africans and Coloureds (42.2 per cent) is lower in comparison with East Indians (49 per cent). This suggests that Africans and Coloureds have a more optimistic view of their life chances with regard to this level of education.

Yet another trend in the table is that while both ethnic groups have a realistic view of the structural constraints and pressures operating in the society, East Indians seem to be more aware of these constraints and pressures since they probably affect East Indians more than Africans and Coloureds. For instance, when one examines aspirations and expectations for G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels, the table shows that 0.5 per cent East Indians have aspirations, and 35.9 per cent, expectations, for this educational level. In the case of Africans and Coloureds, 5 per cent have aspirations, and 31.4 per cent, expectations, for this educational level. This shows that the sample as a whole is quite aware of the structural barriers and constraints of the society, hence the level of their educational expectations. In addition, noting the greater aspirations/expectations percentage discrepancy for East Indians (-35.4 per cent) as compared with -26.4 per cent for Africans and Coloureds, East Indians seem to have a greater awareness of the structural constraints and pressures operating in the society.

In Table 5.34 adolescents' occupational aspirations and expectations are examined in relation to ethnicity. As can be seen from the table, an interesting anomaly is that Africans' and Coloureds' expectations for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs is higher (73.6 per cent) than their aspirations (72.9 per cent).[9] A possible explanation for this anomaly is that some African and Coloured respondents treated 'expectations' not as likelihood of attaining . . . but as what they must ask of themselves—as a personal-imperative. In other words, the verbal stimulus in the form of the statement used in the questionnaire has been interpreted as not intended.

As in the case with Table 5.33, another trend in Table 5.34 is that East Indians have slightly higher occupational aspirations than Africans and Coloureds but the expectations of Africans and Coloureds are definitely

TABLE 5.34

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

IN RELATION TO ETHNICITY

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS	EAST INDIANS	AFRICANS AND COLOUREDS	OTHERS	TOTAL
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar:				
Aspirations	156	102	16	274
%	75.7	72.9	80.0	74.9
Expectations	123	103	15	241
%	59.7	73.6	75.0	65.8
% Discrepancy	16.0	-0.7	5.0	9.1
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers and farmers:				
Aspirations	6	3	0	9
%	2.9	2.1		2.5
Expectations	15	4	1	20
%	7.3	2.9	5.0	5.5
% Discrepancy	-4.4	-0.8	-5.0	-3.0
Skilled and semi-skilled:				
Aspirations	44	35	4	83
%	21.4	25.0	20.0	22.7
Expectations	36	29	4	69
%	17.5	20.5	20.0	18.9
% Discrepancy	3.9	4.5	0	3.8
Unskilled, housewives, unemployed, etc.:				
Expectations only	32	4	0	36
%	15.5	2.9		9.8
Total (Aspirations or Expectations)	206	140	20	366
%	100	100	100	100

GAMMA for Occupational Aspirations is 0.04. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.74.

GAMMA for Occupational Expectations is 0.3. Significance (2-tailed) is 0.002.

higher than those of East Indians. The reason for this trend is the same advanced in relation to educational aspirations and expectations.

A third trend in the table concerns the aspirations/ expectations percentage discrepancy for the two ethnic categories. With regard to the highest occupational level, for instance, the percentage discrepancy is -0.7 per cent for Africans and Coloureds and 16 per cent for East Indians. As already indicated, these findings suggest that Africans and Coloureds have a more optimistic view of their life chances in terms of their occupational aspirations/expectations.

A final trend in the table leads one to conclude again that East Indians are more aware than Africans and Coloureds of the structural constraints and pressures that individuals and groups have to face in the society. This notion is illustrated with regard to expectations for the lower occupational levels. For instance, 2.9 per cent East Indians aspire to jobs in the small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers and farmers category and 7.3 per cent East Indians expect to have jobs in the same occupational category. For Africans and Coloureds, 2.1 per cent have aspirations, and 2.9 per cent, expectations, for this occupational level. Similarly, no ethnic category aspires towards jobs in the unskilled, unemployed, housewives, etc., category. Yet it is significant that 15.5 per cent East Indians feel that they are destined to this occupational level in comparison to only 2.9 per cent Africans and Coloureds. It is quite clear that East Indians are more conscious of the structural and other pressures to their mobility in the society.

The Mediating Effects of the Intervening Variables

Tables 5.35, 5.36, 5.37 and 5.38 examine the mediating effect of 'parental occupational aspirations' on the relationship between ethnicity and aspirations and expectations. The following appear to be the main trends of the findings:

1. Parental occupational aspirations do affect children's aspirations and expectations. This effect is felt more on East Indians than on Africans and Coloureds. In other words, there is a closer correspondence between East Indian parents' aspirations and their children's.

2. The 'don't know' category in Table 5.35 is higher for both East Indians and Africans and Coloureds indicating that respondents who reported their parental aspirations showed that these aspirations were somewhat lower than those respondents who did not. As previously argued, this finding suggests that in regard to educational aspirations, it is better not to know one's parents' aspirations if these are below one's own aspirations.

From Table 5.39 which examines adolescents'

FIGURE 5.35

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND ETHNICITY

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		EAST INDIANS				AFRICANS & COLOUREDS			
		Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' Levels	Total	Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' Levels	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		73	15	0	88	43	6	3	52
	%	83.0	17.0		100	82.7	11.5	5.8	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		28	5	1	34	13	5	0	18
	%	82.4	14.7	2.9	100	72.2	27.8		100
(Don't know)		76	8	0	84	60	6	4	70
	%	90.5	9.5		100	85.7	8.6	5.7	100
Total		177	28	1	206	116	17	7	140
	%	85.7	13.6	0.5	100	82.9	12.1	5.0	100

Note: The 'Others' category is omitted.

TABLE 5.36

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND ETHNICITY

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		EAST INDIANS				AFRICANS & COLOUREDS			
		Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' Levels	Total	Subprofessional ed., university degree or professional qual.	Technical & vocational ed.	G.C.E. 'O' & 'A' Levels	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		42	19	27	88	26	12	14	52
	%	47.7	21.6	30.7	100	50.0	23.1	26.9	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		5	16	13	34	3	10	5	18
	%	14.7	47.1	38.2	100	16.7	55.6	27.8	100
(Don't know)		29	21	34	84	28	17	25	70
	%	34.5	25.0	40.5	100	40.0	24.3	35.7	100
Total		76	56	74	206	57	39	44	140
	%	36.9	27.2	35.9	100	40.7	27.9	31.4	100

Note: The 'Others' category is omitted.

TABLE 5.37

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND ETHNICITY

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		EAST INDIANS				AFRICANS & COLOUREDS			
		Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled	Total	Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		78	1	9	88	44	0	8	52
	%	88.6	1.1	10.2	100	84.6		15.4	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		14	0	20	34	7	0	11	18
	%	41.2		58.8	100	38.9		61.1	100
(Don't know)		64	5	15	84	51	3	16	70
	%	76.2	6.0	17.9	100	72.9	4.3	22.9	100
Total		156	6	44	206	102	3	35	140
	%	75.7	2.9	21.4	100	72.9	2.1	25.0	100

Note: The 'Others' category is omitted.

TABLE 5.38

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ADOLESCENTS' OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND ETHNICITY

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS		EAST INDIANS				AFRICANS & COLOUREDS			
		Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	Total	Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers & farmers	Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		66	2	20	88	43	1	8	52
	%	75.0	2.3	22.7	100	82.7	1.9	15.4	100
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled		11	2	21	34	7	1	10	18
	%	32.4	5.9	61.8	100	38.9	5.6	55.6	100
(Don't know)		46	11	27	84	53	2	15	70
	%	54.8	13.1	32.1	100	75.7	2.9	21.4	100
Total		123	15	68	206	103	4	33	140
	%	59.7	7.3	33.0	100	73.6	2.9	23.5	100

Note: The 'Others' category is omitted.

commitment orientation in relation to educational aspirations and ethnicity, an important observation that can be made is that East Indians are characterised by a considerable level of alienation (19.4 per cent) from the society as compared with Africans and Coloureds (7.1 per cent); a substantial proportion of East Indians are calculative oriented (15.0 per cent) as compared with Africans and Coloureds (4.3 per cent); Africans and Coloureds are characterised by a considerably higher level of integration (61.4 per cent) as compared with East Indians (35.0 per cent). The explanation for these findings is the same advanced in the case of the educational and occupational expectations of Africans and Coloureds.

Table 5.39 also indicates that the commitment orientation does modify the relationship between ethnicity and educational aspirations. In reference to East Indians, 86.4 per cent of the category as a whole have aspirations for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification. The integrative orientation (90.3 per cent) enhances aspirations slightly while the ambivalent orientation (82.5 per cent) depresses aspirations slightly. The other two orientations hardly affect aspirations.

The highest educational aspirational level for Africans and Coloureds as a whole is 82.9 per cent. The findings indicate that the alienative orientation (100

TABLE 5.39

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND ETHNICITY

		EAST INDIANS					AFRICANS & COLOUREDS				
		Orientation					Orientation				
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification	%	87.5 (35)	82.5 (52)	83.9 (26)	90.3 (65)	86.4 (178)	100 (10)	86.8 (33)	50.0 (3)	81.4 (70)	82.9 (116)
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E.'O' and 'A' levels	%	12.5 (5)	17.5 (11)	16.1 (5)	9.7 (7)	13.6 (28)	0	13.1 (5)	50.0 (3)	18.6 (16)	17.1 (24)
Total	%	100 (40)	100 (63)	100 (31)	100 (72)	100 (206)	100 (10)	100 (38)	100 (6)	100 (86)	100 (140)
Total % with each orientation		19.4	30.6	15.0	35.0	100	7.1	27.1	4.3	61.4	99.9

Note: The 'Others' category is omitted.

per cent) raises aspirations significantly while the calculative orientation (50 per cent) depresses aspirations significantly. The ambivalent and integrative orientations do not appear to affect aspirations.

Table 5.40 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to educational expectations and ethnicity again shows the modifying effect of the commitment orientation. In the case of East Indians, while the highest educational expectational level of the category as a whole is 37.4 per cent, the ambivalent orientation (44.4 per cent) raises expectations somewhat while the calculative orientation (22.6 per cent) depresses expectations significantly. The other two orientations hardly affect expectations.

For Africans and Coloureds, while the highest educational expectational level of the category as a whole is 40.7 per cent, the alienative orientation (100 per cent) enhances expectations significantly while the calculative orientation (33.3 per cent) and the integrative orientation (33.7 per cent) have a somewhat depressing effect on expectations. The ambivalent orientation does not seem to affect expectations.

In Table 5.41 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to occupational aspirations and ethnicity, the modifying effect of the commitment orientation is again seen. While East Indians' aspirations

TABLE 5.40

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND ETHNICITY

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		EAST INDIANS					AFRICANS & COLOUREDS				
		Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification	%	37.5 (15)	44.4 (28)	22.6 (7)	37.5 (27)	37.4 (77)	100 (10)	42.1 (16)	33.3 (2)	33.7 (29)	40.7 (57)
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels	%	62.5 (25)	55.6 (35)	77.4 (24)	62.5 (45)	62.6 (129)	0	57.9 (22)	66.7 (4)	66.3 (57)	59.3 (83)
Total	%	100 (40)	100 (63)	100 (31)	100 (72)	100 (206)	100 (10)	100 (38)	100 (6)	100 (86)	100 (140)
Total % with each orientation		19.4	30.6	15.0	35.0	100	7.1	27.1	4.3	61.4	99.9

Note: The 'Others' category is omitted.

TABLE 5.41

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND ETHNICITY

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		EAST INDIANS					AFRICANS & COLOUREDS				
		Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	%	90.0 (36)	71.4 (45)	67.7 (21)	75.0 (54)	75.7 (156)	90.0 (9)	71.1 (27)	66.7 (4)	72.1 (62)	72.9 (102)
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, skilled, semi-skilled	%	10.0 (4)	28.6 (18)	32.3 (10)	25.0 (18)	24.3 (50)	10.0 (1)	28.9 (11)	33.4 (2)	27.9 (24)	27.1 (38)
Total	%	100 (40)	100 (63)	100 (31)	100 (72)	100 (206)	100 (10)	100 (38)	100 (6)	100 (86)	100 (140)
Total % with each orientation		19.4	30.6	15.0	35.0	100	7.1	27.1	4.3	61.4	99.9

Note: The 'Others' category is omitted.

as a whole for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs are 75.7 per cent, the alienative orientation (90 per cent) raises aspirations significantly while the calculative orientation (67.7 per cent) depresses aspirations to some extent. The other two orientations do not appear to affect aspirations.

In the case of Africans and Coloureds, the highest occupational aspirational level of the category as a whole is 72.9 per cent. Like East Indians, the alienative orientation (90 per cent) raises aspirations significantly while the calculative orientation (66.7 per cent) depresses aspirations to some extent. The other two orientations do not seem to affect aspirations.

Table 5.42 which examines adolescents' commitment orientation in relation to occupational expectations and ethnicity, again indicates the modifying effect of the commitment orientation. While the highest occupational expectational level for East Indians as a whole is 59.7 per cent, the integrative orientation (69.4 per cent) raises expectations while the ambivalent orientation (52.4 per cent) and calculative orientation (54.8 per cent) depress expectations somewhat. The alienative orientation does not affect expectations very much.

With reference of Africans and Coloureds, the highest occupational expectational level of the category as a whole is 73.6 per cent. The ambivalent orientation

TABLE 5.42

ADOLESCENTS' COMMITMENT ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND ETHNICITY

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		EAST INDIANS					AFRICANS & COLOUREDS				
		Orientation					Orientation				
		Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total	Alienative	Ambivalent	Calculative	Integrative	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar	%	57.5 (23)	52.4 (33)	54.8 (17)	69.4 (50)	59.7 (123)	80.0 (8)	81.6 (31)	66.7 (4)	69.8 (60)	73.6 (103)
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, unemployed, housewives	%	42.5 (17)	47.6 (30)	45.2 (14)	30.6 (22)	40.3 (83)	20.0 (2)	18.4 (7)	33.4 (2)	30.2 (26)	26.4 (37)
Total	%	100 (40)	100 (63)	100 (31)	100 (72)	100 (206)	100 (10)	100 (38)	100 (6)	100 (86)	100 (140)
Total % with each orientation		19.4	30.6	15.0	35.0	100	7.1	27.1	4.3	61.4	99.9

Note: The 'Others' category is omitted.

(81.6 per cent) and the alienative orientation (80 per cent) have the effect of raising expectations while the calculative orientation (66.7 per cent) depresses expectations. The integrative orientation does not affect expectations.

In summary, of the four commitment orientations modifying the relationship between ethnicity and aspirations and expectations, the following have the most important enhancing and depressing effects:

DEPENDENT VARIABLES	EAST INDIANS Most Enhancing	EAST INDIANS Most Depressing	AFRICANS AND COLOUREDS Most Enhancing	AFRICANS AND COLOUREDS Most Depressing
Educational aspirations	integrative	ambivalent	alienative	calculative
Educational expectations	ambivalent	calculative	alienative	calculative
Occupational aspirations	alienative	calculative	alienative	calculative
Occupational expectations	integrative	ambivalent	ambivalent	calculative

The above summary indicates that the alienative and calculative orientations have a more systematic modifying effect on Africans and Coloureds than on East Indians. In the case of the latter category, the enhancing effect of the integrative orientation on educational aspirations and occupational expectations suggests that a certain proportion of East Indians has an optimistic view of the social structure. The enhancing effect of the ambivalent orientation in relation to East Indians' educational expectations seems to suggest that East Indians are aware of the barriers to mobility in the society but do not apportion blame on any group for this situation. The same appears to be the case for Africans and Coloureds in relation to their occupational expectations.

Thus the analysis so far shows that the intervening variables do modify the relationship between each of the four independent variables (residence, sex, S.E.S. and ethnicity) and the dependent variables (educational aspirations, occupational aspirations, educational expectations, occupational expectations). Furthermore, of the four commitment orientations, the alienative and calculative orientations are seen to have a greater and more systematic modifying effect than the ambivalent and integrative orientations in each case of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, i.e., the consistency is seen in reference to each of the four independent variables on the dependent variables.

The Interactive Effects of Residence, Ethnicity and Social Class on Aspirations and Expectations

Having demonstrated that each of the independent variables affects adolescents' aspirations and expectations when these independent variables are considered separately, a further task now is to examine the possible interactive effects of these independent variables on the dependent variables. For instance, are the aspirations and expectations of urban respondents higher than those of rural respondents just because of residence alone or are the high aspirations and expectations of urban respondents also related to the notion that some urban respondents might belong to the higher S.E.S. categories and might be Africans and Coloureds?

Since the findings with regard to the effect of sex on aspirations and expectations follow a more or less predicted pattern and since our findings are not significantly different from those already documented in relation to other Third World countries that have somewhat similar social, economic and demographic features to Guyana, no further analysis will be done in relation to the variable of sex. Instead, the analysis will proceed to examine the interactive effects of residence, S.E.S. and ethnicity on adolescents' aspirations and expectations.

From Table 5.43 which examines adolescents' educational aspirations in relation to ethnicity, S.E.S. and residence, the interactive effects of the three independent variables are clearly noticeable. For instance, in considering aspirations for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification, the urban high S.E.S. East Indian category has higher aspirations (100 per cent) than the rural high S.E.S. East Indian category (80.9 per cent). The urban middle S.E.S. East Indian category has higher aspirations (88.2 per cent) than

TABLE 5.43

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ETHNICITY, S.E.S. AND RESIDENCE

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		URBAN									RURAL								
		HIGH S.E.S.			MIDDLE S.E.S.			LOW S.E.S.			HIGH S.E.S.			MIDDLE S.E.S.			LOW S.E.S.		
		Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity		
		East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification		10	23	33	15	22	37	7	10	17	17	7	24	31	24	55	97	30	127
	%	100	100	100	88.2	95.7	92.5	70.0	90.9	80.9	80.9	77.8	80.0	83.8	80.0	82.1	87.4	68.2	81.9
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels		0	0	0	2	1	3	3	1	4	4	2	6	6	6	12	14	14	28
	%				11.8	4.3	7.5	30.0	9.1	19.1	19.1	22.2	20.0	16.2	20.0	17.9	12.6	31.8	18.1
Total		10	23	33	17	23	40	10	11	21	21	9	30	37	30	67	111	44	155
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

the rural middle S.E.S. East Indian category (83.8 per cent). The urban low S.E.S. East Indian category, however, has much lower aspirations (70 per cent) than the rural low S.E.S. East Indian category (87.4 per cent).

An almost similar pattern is observed in relation to Africans and Coloureds. Urban high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher aspirations (100 per cent) than rural high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (77.8 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher aspirations (95.7 per cent) than rural middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (80 per cent). Similarly, urban low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher aspirations (90.9 per cent) than rural low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (68.2 per cent). As can be seen from the findings, the urban-rural aspirational gap is much more pronounced for Africans and Coloureds than for East Indians.

The table also shows that ethnicity has an important interactive effect on the other two independent variables. In addition, for both rural and urban dwellers, ethnicity seems to affect the low S.E.S. category the most. In the case of urban dwellers, high S.E.S. East Indians and Africans and Coloureds have the same level of aspirations (100 per cent) for the highest educational level. This suggests that in regard to the high S.E.S. category, social class considerations supercede ethnic considerations.

In the middle S.E.S. category, Africans and Coloureds have higher aspirations (95.7 per cent) than East Indians (88.2 per cent). In the low S.E.S. category, Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher aspirations (90.9 per cent) than East Indians (70 per cent).

In the case of rural dwellers, high S.E.S. East Indians have slightly higher aspirations (80.9 per cent) than high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (77.8 per cent). For the middle S.E.S. category, East Indians again have slightly higher aspirations (83.8 per cent) than Africans and Coloureds (80 per cent). For the low S.E.S. category, East Indians have significantly higher aspirations (87.4 per cent) than Africans and Coloureds (68.2 per cent).

Table 5.44 which summarises adolescents' educational expectations in relation to ethnicity, S.E.S. and residence, again illustrates the interactive effects of the independent variables. For instance, in terms of a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification, urban high S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher expectations (90 per cent) than rural high S.E.S. East Indians (66.7 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher expectations (52.9 per cent) than their rural counterparts (21.6 per cent). The expectations of both urban and rural low S.E.S. East Indians are the same.

In a somewhat similar manner, urban high S.E.S.

TABLE 5.44

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS IN RELATION TO ETHNICITY, S.E.S. AND RESIDENCE

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		URBAN									RURAL								
		HIGH S.E.S.			MIDDLE S.E.S.			LOW S.E.S.			HIGH S.E.S.			MIDDLE S.E.S.			LOW S.E.S.		
		Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity		
		East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total
Subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification		9	17	26	9	10	19	3	5	8	14	5	19	8	8	16	33	12	45
	%	90.0	73.9	78.8	52.9	43.5	47.5	30.0	45.5	38.1	66.7	55.6	63.3	21.6	26.7	23.9	29.7	27.3	29.0
Technical and vocational ed., G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels		1	6	7	8	13	21	7	6	13	7	4	11	29	22	51	78	32	110
	%	10.0	26.1	21.2	47.1	56.5	52.5	70.0	54.5	61.9	33.4	44.4	36.7	78.4	73.3	76.1	70.3	72.7	71.0
Total		10	23	33	17	23	40	10	11	21	21	9	30	37	30	67	111	44	155
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher expectations (73.9 per cent) than rural high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (55.6 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher expectations (43.5 per cent) than their rural counterparts (26.7 per cent). Urban low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher expectations (45.5 per cent) than rural low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (27.3 per cent). As already noted in the case of educational aspirations, the rural-urban gap in relation to educational expectations for Africans and Coloureds is much more marked than that for East Indians.

A comparison of East Indians and Africans and Coloureds shows the manner in which ethnicity adds to the interactive effects of the other independent variables. For instance, in terms of a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification, urban high S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher expectations (90 per cent) than urban high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (73.9 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. East Indians have higher expectations (52.9 per cent) than urban middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (43.5 per cent). However, urban low S.E.S. East Indians have significantly lower expectations (30 per cent) than urban low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (45.5 per cent).

As far as the rural sample is concerned, the table indicates that rural high S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher expectations (66.7 per cent) than rural high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (55.6 per cent). Rural middle S.E.S. East Indians have lower expectations (21.6 per cent) than rural middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (26.7 per cent). Rural low S.E.S. East Indians have slightly higher expectations (29.7 per cent) than rural low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (27.3 per cent).

In Table 5.45 which examines adolescents' occupational aspirations in relation to ethnicity, S.E.S. and residence, the interactive effects of the three independent variables are again seen. For intance, with regard to aspirations for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs, urban high S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher aspirations (90 per cent) than rural high S.E.S. East Indians (71.4 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher aspirations (94.1 per cent) than rural middle S.E.S. East Indians (73.3 per cent). Urban low S.E.S. East Indians, however, have significantly lower aspirations (60 per cent) than rural low S.E.S. East Indians (73 per cent).

With reference to the position of Africans and Coloureds, the trend is slightly different from that seen in relation to their educational aspirations and expectations. Urban high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly lower occupational aspirations (87 per cent)

TABLE 5.45

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN RELATION TO ETHNICITY, S.E.S. AND RESIDENCE

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		URBAN									RURAL								
		HIGH S.E.S.			MIDDLE S.E.S.			LOW S.E.S.			HIGH S.E.S.			MIDDLE S.E.S.			LOW S.E.S.		
		Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity		
		East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		9	20	29	16	17	33	6	10	16	15	9	24	29	22	51	81	24	105
	%	90.0	87.0	87.9	94.1	73.9	82.5	60.0	90.9	76.2	71.4	100	80.0	78.4	73.3	76.1	73.0	54.5	67.7
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, skilled and semi-skilled		1	3	4	1	6	7	4	1	5	6	0	6	8	8	16	30	20	50
	%	10.0	13.0	12.1	5.9	26.1	17.5	40.0	9.1	23.8	28.6		20.0	21.6	26.7	23.9	27.0	45.5	32.3
Total		10	23	33	17	23	40	10	11	21	21	9	30	37	30	67	111	44	155
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

than rural high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (100 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have the same level of aspirations (73.9 per cent) as their rural counterparts. Urban low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds, however, have significantly higher aspirations (90.9 per cent) than rural low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (54.5 per cent).

The table also indicates the manner in which ethnicity combines with residence and S.E.S. on the dependent variables. For instance, urban high S.E.S. East Indians have slightly higher occupational aspirations (90 per cent) than urban high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (87 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher aspirations (94.1 per cent) than urban middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (73.9 per cent). However, urban low S.E.S. East Indians have significantly lower aspirations (60 per cent) than urban low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (90.9 per cent).

With regard to the rural sample, one finds that rural high S.E.S. East Indians have significantly lower aspirations (71.4 per cent) than rural high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (100 per cent). Rural middle S.E.S. East Indians have higher aspirations (78.4 per cent) than rural middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (73.3 per cent). Rural low S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher aspirations (73 per cent) than rural low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (54.5 per cent).

Table 5.46 which examines adolescents' occupational expectations in relation to ethnicity, S.E.S. and residence, again illustrates the manner in which the three independent variables have an interactive effect on the dependent variables. For instance, in terms of expectations for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs, urban high S.E.S. East Indians have slightly higher expectations (80 per cent) than their rural counterparts (76.2 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. East Indians, however, have lower expectations (52.9 per cent) than rural middle S.E.S. East Indians (62.2 per cent). Urban low S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher expectations (70 per cent) than their rural counterparts (54.1 per cent).

The pattern of expectations for Africans and Coloureds seems related to their occupational aspirations. Urban high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly lower expectations (65.2 per cent) than rural high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (76.2 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have somewhat higher expectations (78.3 per cent) than their rural counterparts (73.3 per cent). Urban low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher expectations (90.9 per cent) than rural low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (68.2 per cent).

Table 5.46 also shows the manner in which ethnicity

TABLE 5.46

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS IN RELATION TO ETHNICITY, S.E.S. AND RESIDENCE

		URBAN									RURAL								
		HIGH S.E.S.			MIDDLE S.E.S.			LOW S.E.S.			HIGH S.E.S.			MIDDLE S.E.S.			LOW S.E.S.		
		Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity			Ethnicity		
OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL		East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total	East Indians	Africans & Coloureds	Total
Executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar		8	15	23	9	18	27	7	10	17	16	8	24	23	22	45	60	30	90
	%	80.0	65.2	69.7	52.9	78.3	67.5	70.0	90.9	81.0	76.2	88.9	80.0	62.2	73.3	67.2	54.1	68.2	58.1
Small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, skilled and semi-skilled, unskilled, etc.		2	8	10	8	5	13	3	1	4	5	1	6	14	8	22	51	14	65
	%	20.0	34.8	30.3	47.1	21.7	32.5	30.0	9.1	19.0	23.8	11.1	20.0	37.8	26.7	32.8	45.9	31.8	41.9
Total		10	23	33	17	23	40	10	11	21	21	9	30	37	30	67	111	44	155
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

adds to the interactive effects of the other independent variables. For instance, urban high S.E.S. East Indians have significantly higher expectations (80 per cent) than urban high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (65.2 per cent). Urban middle S.E.S. East Indians, however, have significantly lower expectations (52.9 per cent) than urban middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (78.3 per cent). Similarly, urban low S.E.S. East Indians have significantly lower expectations (70 per cent) than urban low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (90.9 per cent).

In the case of the rural dwellers, rural high S.E.S. East Indians have significantly lower occupational expectations (76.2 per cent) than rural high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (88.9 per cent). Similarly, rural middle S.E.S. East Indians have significantly lower expectations (62.2 per cent) than rural middle S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (73.3 per cent). In like manner, rural low S.E.S. East Indians have significantly lower expectations (54.1 per cent) than rural low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds (68.2 per cent).

The findings of Tables 5.43, 5.44, 5.45 and 5.46 generally indicate a systematic interactive effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables thus reinforcing the direction of the relationships between the independent and dependent variables examined separately.

The interactive effect also yields the following insights into the overall problem being studied:

1. Residence and social class appear to have a more significant effect on the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of Africans and Coloureds than on East Indians. In other words, the findings indicate greater social class and rural-urban disparities for Africans and Coloureds. For instance, on the one hand, urban low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly higher educational aspirations and expectations than rural low S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds. This may be related to the better advantages usually enjoyed by urban over rural dwellers. On the other hand, urban high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds have significantly lower occupational aspirations and expectations than rural high S.E.S. Africans and Coloureds. Bearing in mind the amount of infrastructural developmental works now being undertaken in the rural areas by the government, a probable reason for this finding is that the rural category is very optimistic that the government will cater to its aspirations and expectations.

2. The findings indicate that ethnicity is especially significant in the case of urban and rural low S.E.S. dwellers where Africans and Coloureds are seen to have significantly higher aspirations and expectations than East Indians. For instance, rural high, middle and low S.E.S. East Indians have significantly lower occupational expectations than Africans and Coloureds. The

probable reason for this trend is that Africans and Coloureds, especially those in the low S.E.S. category, believe that they are in a privileged position viz-à-viz East Indians and are optimistic that the present political party in power (P.N.C.) will cater to Africans' and Coloureds' needs before those of other groups.

Conclusion

The analysis of the social-psychological correlates of the historical and structural conditions affecting behavioural outcomes as manifested in the aspirations and expectations of a select group of Guyanese adolescents benefitting from secondary education, has shown the following in a somewhat detailed manner:

1. That the levels of respondents' aspirations and expectations are seen to be extremely high (in relation to the occupational structure) and are focussed mainly on the desire for occupational mobility in the modern and service sectors of the economy.

2. That residence, sex, social class and ethnicity each separately affects adolecents' aspirations and expectations. Urban respondents have higher aspirations and expectations than rural respondents; males have higher aspirations and expectations than females; the high S.E.S. category has the highest aspirations and expectations, followed by the middle S.E.S. category and the low S.E.S. category; East Indians have higher aspirations but lower

expectations than Africans and Coloureds.

3. That residence, social class and ethnicity combine to affect respondents' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations in a predicted manner thus reinforcing the direction of the relationships between the independent variables on the dependent variables examined separately.

4. That the three intervening variables—parental occupational aspirations, perception of the social structure, and inclination to emigrate, mediate the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. More specifically, of respondents' four commitment orientations, the alienative and calculative orientations are seen to have a more systematic modifying effect as compared with the ambivalent and integrative orientations. This is observed from the mediating effect of the commitment orientation on the relationship between each of the independent variables on the dependent variables.

The examination of social-psychological data therefore serves to add to the explanation of the Guyanese problem being studied. As can be seen from the somewhat detailed findings of this chapter, the findings of this chapter seem to go beyond those of the previous chapters in broadening our understanding of the problem of why formally educated Guyanese persist in having extremely high aspirations in the context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

References and Notes

1. According to Clive Thomas: "The most conservative estimate would still make unemployment no less than 25 per cent of the labour force. Among young people between 18-23 the figure is probably over 60 per cent in the urban areas . . . ." Quoted in Caribbean Contact, May 1977.

2. A Digest of Educational Statistics 1973-1974. The Planning Unit, Ministry of Education and Social Development, Georgetown, Guyana.

3. Since the State's take-over of all schools from September 1976 most of the designations such as 'government aided,' 'private secondary school,' etc., no longer operate.

4. See for example: P. M. E. Figueroa, "Values and Academic Achievement among High School Boys in Kingston, Jamaica." P. M. E. Figueroa and Ganga Persaud (eds.), Sociology of Education: A Caribbean Reader. O.U.P., 1976, Reading 8; M. Cross and A. M. Schwartzbaum, "Social Mobility and Secondary School Selection in Trinidad and Tobago." Figueroa and Persaud (eds.), Reading 10; M. K. Bacchus, "Social Factors in Secondary School Selection." Social and Economic Studies, vol. 15, no. 1, 1966; H. Green, "Values of Negroes and East Indian School Children in Trinidad." Social and Economic Studies, No. 2, 1965.

5. Ahamad Baksh, "The Mobility of Degree Level Graduates of the University of Guyana." Figueroa and Persaud (eds.), Reading 9, p. 167.

6. See for example: Ceciline Baird, "Preoccupations of a Sample of Adolescents Receiving Secondary Education in Guyana." U.G. Staff Collection, 1969; V. Rubin and M. Zavalloni, We Wish to Be Looked Upon. New York: Teachers College Press, 1969.

7. Hans W. Singer, "Dualism Revisited: A New Approach to the Problems of the Dual Society in Developing Countries." Journal of Developmental Studies, October 1970.

8. Parental occupational aspirations were ascertained through asking respondents themselves (question P of questionnaire) what occupational plans their parents had for respondents.

9. A re-examination of the coding and key punching procedures has shown to error with regard to the recording of the data concerning the aspirations and expectations of Africans and Coloureds.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE FINDINGS

In this chapter the attempt is made to do several related things. First, an effort is made to show the manner in which the structural and social-psychological analyses of this study are complementary. Second, an explanation is given for the disjunction between aspirations/expectations and the occupational structure. Third, the official (governmental) and individual responses developed in the society to deal with the problem of the disjunction, are discussed. Fourth, the political implications of these responses are analysed. Fifth, the role of education in class formation and the emergence of the bureaucratic-administrative elite in Guyanese society, is examined. Finally, some concluding remarks are made in connection with the role of education in economic development and modernization in the context of the findings of this study.

Summary of Findings from Chapters III and IV

In Chapters III and IV of this study the following main findings are seen in relation to the economy and the educational system. This structural analysis of data is intended to indicate how slowly the economy has been developing and expanding. Conversely, the intention is also to show how educational expansion has been occurring rapidly in the society especially since the late 1940's.

The main findings with regard to the economy are as follows:

1. The total population in Guyana increased by 90 per cent between 1946 and 1970, from 375,700 to 714,000.

2. The total labour force increased by 62,000 or 42.4 per cent between 1946 and 1970 but the increase in the numbers of jobs for the same period was only 31,800 or 21.8 per cent.

3. In 1945, 29.4 per cent of the labour force were employed in the service sector. By 1970, the percentage employed in the service sector had risen to 43.8.

4. Real growth and expansion of the economy have been extremely slow. For instance:

a. Per capita real income for the 1942-1951 period rose by just 20 per cent, i.e., about 2.3 per cent annually.

b. Newman and Kundu, for instance, point out that between the 1950-1960 period, the economy just grew fast enough on average to maintain real incomes intact.

c. The increase in the G.D.P. at current prices during the 1960-65 period was estimated to be about 26 per cent, i.e., 5.2 per cent per annum but the total G.D.P. at constant (1971) prices rose only about 14 per cent, i.e., 2.8 per cent per annum.

d. Between 1965 and 1970 the G.D.P. increased in real terms by about 20 per cent or about 4 per cent annually but when population increases were taken into account, the per capita G.D.P. rose by less than one per cent during the period.

e. Thomas and Mahida examining the performance of the economy in 1976 concluded that it performed poorly and that no real growth of the economy took place. The same argument is made in relation to 1977.

The findings in relation to educational expansion since the 1940's are as follows:

1. In 1942, education accounted for 9.9 per cent of total recurrent expenditure of the country. By 1945, this figure had increased to 12.2 per cent and by 1974 it had reached 17.5 per cent.

2. Primary school enrolment in 1945 was 61,734. By 1964 it was 126,494 and by 1974 it was 132,023.

3. In 1945-46 only 732 pupils sat the Government County Scholarship Examination. By 1973-1974, 16,687 pupils were entered for this examination which by now was called the Secondary School Entrance Examination.

4. In 1945 there was only one Government Secondary school (Queen's College) with an enrolment of 625 pupils. Between 1945 and 1960 secondary school enrolment increased by 136 per cent.

5. In 1960, enrolment in government aided and

government owned secondary schools totalled 6,975 pupils. By 1974 enrolment in these schools totalled 25,493 pupils.

6. While there were 145 graduates of the Guyana School of Agriculture between 1965 and 1973, not a single one of these graduates became an own-account farmer. Instead, the great majority (62.8 per cent) secured employment in government departments and in public corporations.

7. Up until 1974, a total of 418 graduates had completed their training at the Bookers Apprenticeship Training School at Port Mourant. At the end of 1974 only 31.36 per cent of the graduates were still working with Bookers. While some of these graduates were probably employed by the government or other private employers, the great majority had emigrated.

8. The two Technical Institutes cater to the bulk of students seeking formal technical training in Guyana.

9. The enrolment at the University of Guyana totalled 164 students in 1963-64. By 1975-76 the enrolment had reached 1,752 students.

10. Of the 364 degree level graduates turned out by the University of Guyana between 1968 and 1972, 51 per cent were absorbed in Primary and Secondary school teaching, 14.8 per cent in the Public Service and Public Corporations, and 19.2 per cent were abroad either pursuing graduate studies or settled permanently.

11. Applications for entry into various educational and training institutions in Guyana show that the demand for places in these institutions far exceeds the supply available.

Summary Based on the Analysis of Social Psychological Data

The analysis of the social-psychological data is done in Chapter V. The main findings of this chapter are as follows:

1. Over 50 per cent of the employed labour force as at 1970 can be said to be comprised of blue collar workers (Table 5.1).

2. Table 5.2 suggests that the formal educational level of the employed labour force as a whole is rather low. At one extreme, over 78 per cent have had only a primary school education or none at all. At the other extreme, only one per cent are holders of degrees and 0.6 per cent, holders of diplomas.

3. 83.1 per cent of the sample of 366 adolescents have aspirations for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification while 37.4 per cent have expectations for this level of education. In the Guyanese labour force of 1970, individuals with similar qualifications account for only 1.6 per cent of the employed labour force.

4. A total of 74.9 per cent of the sample have

aspirations for, and 65.8 per cent expect to get, executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs. In the Guyanese labour force of 1970, similar jobs account for approximately 36 per cent of the labour force.

5. Adolescents' educational aspirations and expectations tend to correspond with their occupational aspirations and expectations (especially technical and vocational education in relation to skilled and semi-skilled employment).

6. Residence affects aspirations and expectations: Both educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of urban youths are higher than those of rural youths.

7. Urban and rural dwellers have almost similar expectations for skilled and semi-skilled employment.

8. The aspirations and expectations by respondents for the lower occupational levels (small-scale businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, unskilled, housewives, unemployed) indicate a clear recognition by adolescents of the structural pressures and constraints operating in the society.

9. Parental occupational aspirations affect respondents' aspirations and expectations.

10. The four commitment orientations of adolescents (alienative, ambivalent, calculative and integrative) affect the relationship between:

a. Residence and educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.

b. Sex and educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.

c. Social class and educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.

d. Ethnicity and educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.

Of these commitment orientations, the alienative and calculative orientations are seen to have a more systematic modifying effect on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

11. As expected, sex affects aspirations and expectations: Males have higher educational aspirations and expectations than females for a subprofessional education, university degree or professional qualification.

12. Females have somewhat similar occupational expectations (63.9 per cent) to males (67.8 per cent) for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs. In addition, females' expectations for technical and vocational education and for skilled and semi-skilled employment are higher than those of males.

13. Social class affects educational and occupational aspirations and expectations with the high S.E.S. category having relatively the highest aspirations and expectations.

14. The middle and low S.E.S. categories have the highest expectations for technical and vocational education. The low S.E.S. category has the highest aspirations and expectations for skilled and semi-skilled employment.

15. Ethnicity affects aspirations and expectations: The educational and occupational aspirations of East Indians are slightly higher than those of Africans and Coloureds. On the other hand, the educational and occupational expectations of Africans and Coloureds are definitely higher than those of East Indians. An apparent anomaly in relation to Africans and Coloureds is that their expectations for executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar jobs are higher (73.6 per cent) than their aspirations (72.9 per cent). The interesting point about this anomaly is that while one would normally expect a group's levels of expectations to be much lower than its aspirations, in the case of Africans and Coloureds there is no drop at all in their levels of expectations. A possible explanation for this anomaly is that some African and Coloured respondents treated 'expectations' not as likelihood of attaining . . . but as what they must ask of themselves—as a personal imperative.

16. Apparently East Indians are more aware than Africans and Coloureds of the structural constraints and pressures operating in the society. This is seen from the expectations by East Indians for the lower levels of jobs

(including the possibility of becoming unemployed) in the occupational structure.

17. Residence, social class and ethnicity are seen to have a systematic interactive effect on the dependent variables thus reinforcing the direction of the relationships between the independent variables on the dependent variables examined separately.

Complementarity of Structural and Social-Psychological Data

It can be seen from the foregoing summary that the structural analysis indicates the slow growth rate of the economy, the rapid expansion of the labour force and the service sector of the economy as well as revealing the extent and nature of the 'educational explosion' that has occurred in the society. It also underlines some of the consequences of this explosion in terms of the problem of the unemployment of the educated in Guyana. The analysis of the aspirations-expectations data reveals the high levels of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of the sample of adolescents as well as the nature of the effect of various structural and socio-demographic factors which tend to affect adolescents' aspirations and expectations.

The structural analysis (Chapters III and IV) and the analysis of social-psychological data (Chapter V) appear to complement each other and so serve to reinforce the main theoretical arguments of this study in the following ways:

1. The structural analysis of Chapter III gives one certain insights into the formative influences of the Guyanese colonial society. One notices the economic and politically dominant position of the White ruling class, exploiting the modern and service sectors of the economy mainly through the plantation system, the rigid nature of the social stratification system, the plural and segmented socio-cultural nature of the society which was a consequence of the plantation system, and the role of education which acted more or less as a mechanism of status confirmation rather than as a determinant of occupational and social mobility. It seems that in the early colonial era and up until the early 1940's education was used by the colonial ruling group (Whites) as a powerful socialising mechanism to secure compliance from the disadvantaged non-whites, getting them to accept their inferiority and to play a docile and subservient role to the ruling Whites.

The structural evidence shows that the lower level white collar jobs in the modern and service sectors which were made attractive in terms of remuneration but which 'required' a formal education, were gradually opened up to the non-whites. The non-whites' initial attempts to establish their 'independence' from the modern and service sectors of the economy—through peasant farming, small-scale retailing, etc.—were successfully undermined by the ruling Whites. Thus non-whites increasingly began to strive for education in order to qualify for the limited white collar jobs available to them. The patterns of adolescents' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations observed in Chapter V are therefore historically rooted in the economic, political and social conditions of early Guyanese colonial society.

2. Both structural and social-psychological data reveal two associated aspects of the educational explosion that has been taking place in Guyana, that is, rapid educational expansion has been accompanied by the incidence of very high aspirations and expectations for educational qualifications. Similarly, the rapid expansion of jobs in the service sector has been accompanied by a dramatic rise in aspirations and expectations for occupational positions.

3. The analysis of the social-psychological data in terms of what effect independent structural and socio-demographic variables such as residence, sex, social class and ethnicity have on aspirations and expectations indicates that while there are intra-group differences, the aspirations and expectations of all groups are generally very high. For instance, 83.5 per cent urban adolescents have aspirations, and 71.1 per cent, expectations for an executive, professional, teaching, clerical and white collar job. In contrast, 71.7 per cent rural adolescents have

aspirations, and 63.9 per cent, expectations for this occupational level. In the Guyanese labour force of 1970, similar jobs account for approximately 36 per cent of the labour force. Apart from intra-group differences, the findings also indicate that the aspirations of East Indians, females and rural low S.E.S. dwellers are very high. Thus the social-psychological findings reinforce the structural analysis by pointing to the very high aspirations/ expectations of all groups.

Why a Disjunction Between Aspirations/ Expectations and the Occupational Structure has Risen

Classical economic theory suggests that in the light of the inability of the economy to provide sufficient jobs for a rapidly expanding labour force (Table 4.1), educational and occupational aspirations and expectations should have at least showed signs of falling off or decreasing. On the contrary, the opposite seems to be happening. Guyanese adolescents' aspirations and expectations remain high and have been probably rising, indicating widespread striving and hope among Guyanese educated youth for already limited available jobs in the small and more dynamic, high-wage, modern and service sectors of the economy.

As previously argued in Chapter II, in the colonial era (at least up until 1957) the colonialists were primarily interested in the economic exploitation of the modern sector of the economy and so made this sector attractive in terms of the availability of jobs which required a formal education, and remuneration. However, by regulating the supply of schooling as well as the supply of jobs in the modern and service sectors, the colonialists ensured that unemployment in these sectors would be kept to a minimum.

The disjunction between aspirations/expectations and the occupational structure began to develop when local national leaders gradually began to assume political control of the society in the late 1940's. The social stratification system became less rigid permitting increased social mobility in Guyanese society. As a consequence, there began a rapid expansion of education at all levels to satisfy the social demand for education which began to be seen as being crucially important to occupational and social mobility.

While successive mass elected governments headed first by the P.P.P. (133 days in 1953 and from 1957 to 1964) and subsequently by the P.N.C. (1964 to the present—1977) have succeeded to a large extent in satisfying the rising aspirations for education, these governments have been unable to provide enough jobs for a rapidly expanding labour force whose occupational aspirations are focussed mainly on the modern and service sectors. Thus over a period of time a disjunction has developed between Guyanese' aspirations/expectations and the occupational structure. Successive governments of both the P.P.P. and P.N.C. have attempted to remove this disjunction by their policies of rapidly expanding the service sector in an effort to create quick jobs. However, this has not helped to alleviate the chronic unemployment problem, nor has it reduced the demand for lucrative jobs in the service sector, especially the public service.

It should be observed that while both the P.P.P. and the P.N.C. in their official policies have stated, among other things, that education should help to achieve greater social equality and economic development in the society,[1] the present study suggests that neither of these goals is being achieved. Not only has educational expansion failed to reduce social inequality, although it may have reduced more obvious disparities in accessibility to educational provision at the primary and secondary levels, it has also not succeeded in serving as an effective technique in legitimising social inequality by helping to individualise failure. Social cleavage along ethnic lines in Guyana and its political expression in the general policies as well as the membership structure of the ruling party (P.N.C.) has served to help the attainment process from becoming, and from being seen as, meritocratic. Thus educational expansion has failed to legitimise inequality, much less to drastically reduce it. In fact, it may have sharpened tensions and contradictions inherent in the Guyanese social structure and economy. The general crisis created by the sharpening contradictions and tensions and, in particular, the deepening disjunction between aspirations and the occupational structure, has led to the development of several responses at two levels.

Responses Developed in the Society to Deal with the Problem of the Disjunction Between Aspirations/Expectations and the Occupational Structure

In the light of the policies of successive mass elected governments of both the P.P.P. and the P.N.C. (especially the P.N.C.) to rapidly expand educational provisions as well as the service sector of the economy—while not making any serious effort to change the dependent capitalist status of the economy or the wage differentials that exist between the modern and non-modern sectors[2]—it appears that two types of responses have been developed in the society to deal with the problem under study. First are the official or governmental responses such as expansion of the service sector, the use of ascriptive criteria in distributing the 'scarce rewards' of the society, the institution of National Service, and what appears to be a more deliberate attempt to so structure the secondary education system as to use it for purposes of "cooling out" the aspirations of Guyanese youth. Second are the responses developed by individuals in order to cope with the problem under study. These responses include the pursuit of educational qualifications as never before which has led to educational inflation or qualification escalation, and emigration. Each of these official and individual responses is critically discussed in turn.

First Official Response: Expansion of the Service Sector

It has already been indicated in Chapter IV that the size of the Guyanese labour force has been growing twice as fast as the employed population. This labour force increased by 62,500 between 1946 and 1970 while only 31,800 Guyanese were able to find employment in the various occupational sectors.

While the dependent capitalist Guyanese economy has been unable to generate sufficient employment opportunities for the thousands of job-seekers, the British colonial government as well as successive elected governments, especially that of the P.N.C., seem to have adopted the strategy of trying to provide jobs in the short run by rapidly expanding the service sector of the economy. For instance, as previously shown by Table 4.2, the service sector expanded from 29.4 per cent to 36.3 per cent between 1945 and 1956 (the colonial period). By 1960 (the P.P.P. period) the service sector contracted to 34.1 per cent. In 1965 (the P.N.C. era) expansion of the service sector reached 39.9 per cent and by 1970 the service sector had reached 43.8 per cent (era of the present P.N.C. government).

It may be argued that to a certain extent the expansion of the service sector has been necessary—the building of roads, establishment of the local army, creation of new local national institutions such as the National Insurance Scheme, Cooperative Bank, establishment of the Diplomatic Corps, etc.—but this strategy of rapidly expanding the service sector at the expense of the other sectors does not constitute economic development since little attempt is made to transform the total economic structure in line with broad socialist goals—severing links of dependency with the Metropoles, diversifying the economy, redistribution of wealth or even radically changing the colonial wage structure.

Second Official Response: The Use of Ascriptive Criteria in Distributing the 'Scarce Rewards' of the Society

In a situation of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment in any Third World society, the problem of equity in the distribution of the scarce rewards of the society, be they jobs, schooling, promotions, housing or scholarships, is bound to assume a great deal of significance since demands for these scarce rewards are likely to be in great excess over their supply.

In the case of Guyana this trend seems to be complicated by its characteristic ethnic and class structure and the corresponding institutions and processes so that one finds, for instance, that supporters of the ruling party (a vast majority of whom happen to be Africans and Coloureds) are enjoying a certain amount of preferential treatment over other groups such as the East Indians, a vast majority of whom do not necessarily support the political party in power. It should be noted, however, that of recent there has been an apparent growing opposition to the ruling party by Africans and Coloureds from the lower income groups facing a deteriorating standard of living in the society.

One interesting finding in Chapter V is that while East Indians have slightly higher educational and occupational aspirations than Africans and Coloureds, the latter group definitely has higher expectations than East Indians. As already argued, the higher expectations of Africans and Coloureds are probably related to the possibility that they feel themselves more privileged than East Indians and believe that the political party whom they have largely helped put into power in turn does and will ensure them an advantaged position in their competitive struggle for societal rewards—a struggle in which they may see themselves against other ethnic groups.

That the scarce rewards of the society are not being distributed strictly on the basis of achievement criteria—educational qualifications, training, experience, etc.—is seen from some of the observations made by different critics. M. K. Bacchus (academic) and Janet and Cheddie Jagan (politicians) are two representative views.

M. K. Bacchus, commenting on the recruitment of personnel into the Public Service on the basis of particularistic criteria, points out:

> Though inexcusable, the phenomenon is understandable largely because of the fact that supporters of the government are more likely to have direct or indirect access to the corridors of power and so have their pleas for jobs more easily heard. The deciding factor here might not be just the ethnicity of the candidate but because non-supporters tend to be of one ethnic group it manifests itself and is interpreted as ethnic discrimination against one major group—the East Indians.[3]

Another critic, Janet Jagan (political view) commenting on reasons for the Guyanese brain drain problem, argues that these reasons

> include the grave dissatisfaction and sense of injustice arising out of the discriminatory practices, mainly in employment, promotions and selection for scholarships.[4]

In the same vein, Cheddie Jagan accuses the present ruling party of "political and racial discrimination in the allocation of jobs, land, loans, and houses."[5]

While the above views cannot be said to be representative of a wide cross-section of the society, they nevertheless do point to the existence of a significant problem in the society. That this is so is illustrated to a certain extent by the gross underrepresentation of East Indians (who comprise about 51 per cent of the total population) especially in public sector employment. For instance, in 1976/1977:[6]

1. Of the 19 Permanent Secretaries in the Public Service, only two were East Indians.

2. Of the six Regional Administrative Officers in the country, only one was an East Indian.

3. Of the 23 Senior Ministers of the government, Ministers, Ministers of State, and Regional Ministers (excluding the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister) only five were of East Indian origin.

4. Of the approximately 20 members of the Guyanese Diplomatic Corps ranking from Ambassadors to Third Secretaries, only three were of East Indian origin.

These examples appear to reinforce the views of Bacchus, Janet and Cheddie Jagan. While it should be noted that Guyana is by no means unique in respect of the use of both achievement and ascriptive criteria for distributing the society's 'scarce-goods,' the argument here is that the resort to the use of ascriptive criteria serves some ethnic groups to monopolise these scarce rewards thereby lessening the impact of chronic unemployment on these groups, thus reinforcing their loyalty to the ruling party and its policies which have served to perpetuate and, perhaps, exacerbate, underdevelopment and its correlates.

Third Official Response: National Service

National Service appears to be yet another strategy developed to deal with underdevelopment, chronic unemployment and the disjunction between aspirations/expectations and the economy. The 'architects' of this new and controversial institution envisage that it would help solve the "problems bequeathed by colonialism's dual economy."[7] It is argued that

> the dual economy has bequeathed an even more profound problem for national integration—that of the synchronous development of economic, social, political and moral elements in society. And to counter this fortunately there has been the innovation of the institution of National Service.[8]

Bacchus observes that while there has been opposition to making National Service compulsory, its 'success' in securing 'volunteers' lies in the belief that subsequent educational opportunities and jobs in the public sector will be granted only to those who have completed their National Service.[9] Bacchus observes further that it is too early to gauge the impact of National Service on national development. However, as a strategy for dealing with the chronic unemployment problem, National Service is effective in taking a section of the young population out of the labour force for a period of around two years thus reducing the pressure on the job market and at the same time postponing the growing discontent among the educated unemployed.[10]

It can be argued that National Service, as presently conceived and operationalised, far from helping to solve the chronic problems of the society, is serving to compound these problems in the following ways:

1. Bearing in mind that at least $20 million are spent annually by this institution which is said to be an extension of the formal educational system and recognising the charge that teaching skills in National Service are generally of a lower quality as compared with those obtained in the formal educational system, it seems that National Service is unnecessarily duplicating the efforts of especially the technical institutes and the school of agriculture to some extent. Consequently, the resources now spent in the National Service to train individuals in various skills, could very well be more productively utilised in the existing educational institutional complex.

2. Some of the goals of National Service—teaching the skills and attitudes for nation building and development; helping to tap the unexploited resources of the hinterland; teaching youths the dignity of labour and working with their hands—are goals worth achieving but the mere attempt to change attitudes and teach certain skills are grossly inadequate. Simultaneous changes have to be effected in the social structure before one can hope to bring about attitudinal changes in individuals. For

instance, teaching youths the dignity of labour and working with their hands is meaningless in a social structural context where the highest wages and salaries are earned by those who do not have to soil their hands and where such wage differentials are exceedingly high.

3. National Service has had the latent effect of discriminating against certain groups and in furthering the fragmentation of the society. Since National Service has been 'thrust' on the society as a whole and has not been founded on the basis of national consensus, supporters of the present party in power tend to favour National Service more than non-party supporters. Following from this, for instance, is the trend of East Indians fearing and having serious reservations about the present operations of the scheme. In addition, females as a group tend to be quite reluctant to serve in the National Service. Thus, instead of being a force for integrating the various ethnic and other groups, National Service seems to be serving as a screening device in protecting the monopolistic position of the ruling party and its supporters within the ruling elite. In other words, this scheme serves as a curious means of elite recruitment.

Fourth Official Response: The 'Cooling Out' Process in Secondary Education

As already indicated in Chapter IV, there has been a rapid increase in educational provisions, especially at the secondary level. For instance, Table 4.5 shows that secondary school enrolment increased from 11,484 students in 1960 to 31,563 students in 1974. However, the academic standards of the newer schools (e.g., Junior Government Secondary) have tended to be considerably lower than those of the older established elite schools (e.g., Senior Secondary and some Government Aided). One reason for this situation is that the government per capita pupil expenditure has been greater in the elite schools (attended mainly by the higher social classes) than in the newer schools (attended mainly by the lower social classes). In 1971, for instance, the per capita pupil expenditure in the Senior Government Secondary Schools was $347.64. The comparative figures for Junior Government Secondary and Government Aided Secondary Schools were $125.79 and $79.21 respectively.[11]

A result of the above situation is that a significant proportion of students going to "newer" schools fail to obtain the requisite number of G.C.E. 'O' Level passes, including English Language, in order to qualify for white collar jobs. As expected, the failure rate is considerably greater among the lower than among the higher social classes. Bacchus observes that efforts at securing a 'good' G.C.E. 'O' Level certificate are repeated two or more times and still many candidates fail to obtain the level of pass that is normally required for the better type white collar jobs.[12] Bacchus argues that the latent function of this experience is to 'cool off' many youngsters as it gets them to lower their level of occupational aspirations.[13] Thus many youngsters end up blaming themselves for their failures. In this way the prospect of obtaining the lowest levels of jobs or even unemployment can be accommodated by youngsters since they would probably not believe that it is educational system and social structure that have to be largely blamed for their failures.

First Individual Response: Increased Pursuit of Educational Qualifications

This study has demonstrated that Guyanese' aspirations and expectations for primary, secondary, technical/vocational and higher education are extremely high. It has already been noted in Chapter IV that over 90 per cent of the school age population are attending primary schools; over 60 per cent go on to some form of secondary education; enrolment at the University of Guyana jumped from 164 students in 1963-1964 to 1,752 students in 1975-1976. The policies of the mass elected governments of both the P.P.P. and the P.N.C., it has been noted, have succeeded in achieving these high enrolments by not only heavily subsidising education but, since 1976, by making it 'free' at all levels.

Given the Guyanese context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment and the assumption that education is the main avenue for occupational mobility (with other alternatives extremely limited or non-existent) education has become a kind of 'lottery' where the more education one has the better one's chances are in getting a job in the modern and service sectors of the economy. Bhagwati advances the argument that in a situation of educational oversupply where qualifications for jobs are based mainly on academic credentials, education can be viewed as a process of acquiring the academic qualification with which one can outcompete someone who lacks it. Ideally, the different levels of jobs in the occupational structure would carry different rewards/price tags which would 'require' different levels of education.[14] In a situation of an oversupply of educated individuals relative to the number of jobs available in the economy

> educated labour would outcompete uneducated labour; and the more the education, the greater the access to the higher paid jobs: this could be one of the principal rules of the game, defining the access of different groups to the different jobs.[15]

In the multi ethnic nature of Guyanese society where it has already been argued that jobs might not necessarily be given only on the basis of who have the highest educational qualifications but also on the bases of ethnic/political criteria, Bhagwati's argument does not necessarily apply to the Guyanese situation. Be that as it may, one consequence of individuals pursuing ever higher and higher levels of education is educational devaluation or qualification escalation, a situation where jobs that were once performed by individuals with lower level qualifications, are now being increasingly performed by individuals with higher level qualifications. In the teaching profession, for example, up until the early 1960's, a Trained Class One Teachers' Certificate was the highest academic and professional qualification of a primary school teacher. The great majority of secondary school teachers had G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' level qualifications only; there were very few degree level graduates around.[16] In 1964/65 there were only 12 degree level graduates teaching in primary schools. By 1973/74 this number had increased to 81 or 575 per cent.[17] Similarly, the numbers of degree level graduates employed in government and government aided secondary schools in 1965 was 124. By 1974 this number had risen to 350, an increase of 182.3 per cent.[18] While to some extent the increased numbers of graduates (especially at the secondary school level) may be justified in terms of the need for more highly qualified staff, the dramatic increase in numbers of degree level graduates in the school system is directly related to the output of graduates from U.G. who cannot find employment in other occupational sectors (Table 4.9). The present position seems to be that the government is succeeding in finding employment for these graduates within the educational system and the Public Service. This is due mainly to the government's need for teachers because of the educational explosion taking place in the society. In fact, there is a teacher shortage necessitating the employment of expatriates as teachers, especially in the Secondary Multilateral schools.

Second Individual Response: Emigration

In a context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment where many individuals with various levels of education and skills have not succeeded in obtaining gainful or satisfying employment or where their occupational mobility is being restricted by various social structural barriers including political/ethnic ones, many of these individuals are emigrating, seeking their chances for occupational and social mobility abroad. That emigration represents another important strategy by individuals to deal with occupational mobility, as seen, for instance, from the Guyanese "departure index"[19] which rose from 100 in 1960 to 252 in 1970.[20]

The evidence tends to show that emigration is serving to export valuable skills that are probably needed for national development. Janet Jagan points out, for instance, that between 1968 and 1972 out of 1,147 nursing students admitted for training, only 267 graduated. Yet during the same period a total of 323 nurses emigrated from Guyana.[21] From these figures one can see the twin problems of a high drop out/failure and emigration rate among nurses.

As already indicated in previous chapters, of recent years Canada and the United States have become the two industrialised countries to which the majority of Guyanese emigrate. As can be seen from Table 6.1 which indicates the pattern of immigration to these countries over a period, a total of 27,773 Guyanese were granted Landed Immigrant status to Canada between 1965 and 1976. Similarly, 17,560 Guyanese were issued with immigrant visas to the U.S. for the period 1965-1974. Also observable from the table is the significant rise in the numbers of immigrants to Canada and the U.S. over the period under study. In the case of Canada, for example, while only 609 Guyanese emigrated as Landed Immigrants in 1965 (one year after the P.N.C. assumed office), in 1973 (the peak year) a total of 4,808 Guyanese (roughly eight times the number in 1965) were granted Landed Immigrant status. Similarly, while only 233 Guyanese obtained immigrant visas to the U.S. in 1965, in 1974, a total of 3,551 Guyanese were issued with such visas. The table of course does not take into account the significant numbers of Guyanese who enter Canada and the U.S. as visitors only to 'disappear' by going into hiding indefinitely.

From Table 6.2 which summarises the intended occupations of Guyanese immigrants to Canada between 1965 and 1975, one gets a clearer perspective of the kinds of

TABLE 6.1

GUYANESE GRANTED IMMIGRANT STATUS TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1965-1976

YEAR	TO CANADA	TO THE U.S.A.	TOTAL	% INCREASE OR DECREASE
1965	609	233	842	--
1966	628	377	1,005	19.4
1967	736	857	1,593	58.5
1968	823	1,148	1,971	23.7
1969	1,865	1,615	3,480	76.6
1970	2,090	1,850	3,940	13.2
1971	2,384	2,137	4,521	14.7
1972	1,976	2,850	4,826	6.7
1973	4,808	2,942	7,750	60.6
1974	4,030	3,551	7,581	-37.7
1975	4,394	n.a.	4,394	--
1976	3,430	n.a.	3,430	--
Total	27,773	17,560	45,333	--

Sources: Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration; 1971 Annual Report Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice (for 1965-1969 period);
Report of the Visa Office, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs (for 1970-1974 period).

TABLE 6.2

INTENDED OCCUPATIONS OF GUYANESE LANDED IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA, 1965-1975

INTENDED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES		1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	Total
Executives and professionals		59	58	78	91	188	185	236	187	187	128	88	1,485
	*%	21.1	19.1	19.3	21.5	19.3	17.9	18.8	20.9	7.3	6.9	5.5	12.8
Clerical and white collar		161	171	216	234	498	507	652	444	1,116	769	675	5,413
	*%	57.7	56.4	53.5	55.3	51.2	48.9	52.0	46.3	43.7	41.3	42.4	46.8
Skilled and semi-skilled		55	67	72	92	253	271	277	218	1,043	723	594	3,665
	*%	19.7	22.1	17.8	21.7	26.0	26.2	22.1	24.4	40.9	38.8	37.3	31.7
Unskilled		4	7	6	6	23	20	22	20	45	55	78	286
	*%	1.4	2.3	1.5	1.4	2.4	1.9	1.8	2.2	1.8	3.0	4.9	2.5
Others		--	--	32	--	11	53	67	56	159	189	156	723
	%			7.9		1.1	5.1	5.3	6.3	6.2	10.1	9.8	6.2
Total destined for labour force		279	303	404	423	973	1,036	1,254	894	2,551	1,864	1,591	11,572
	%	99.9	99.9	100	99.9	100	100	100	100	99.9	100.1	99.9	100
Total not destined for labour force		330	325	332	400	892	1,054	1,130	1,082	2,257	2,166	2,803	12,771
GRAND TOTAL		609	628	736	823	1,865	2,090	2,384	1,976	4,808	4,030	4,394	24,343

Source: Adapted from Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics.

*Calculated in terms of those destined for labour force.

skills that are exported from Guyanese society. The table shows that only 2.5 per cent of the total number of immigrants destined for the labour force can be classified as being unskilled. On the other hand, 12.8 per cent can be classified as executive and professional workers, 46.8 per cent as clerical and white collar workers, and 31.7 per cent as skilled and semi-skilled workers. It can therefore be argued that, as illustrated by the intended occupations of Guyanese Landed Immigrants to Canada between 1965 and 1975, emigration of Guyanese to the industrialised countries seems definitely linked to the brain drain problem.

Political Implications of Official (Governmental) and Individual Responses

The discussion has so far shown that because of the manifest failure of the present government in instituting effective measures to reduce the disjunction between aspirations/expectations and the occupational structure and to eradicate unemployment, certain official and individual responses have been developed to deal with the chronic problems of the society. It can be argued that these responses have tended to serve at least four important political purposes of the present ruling elite in power, in the following ways:

1. Certain responses are intended to lessen the impact of the chronic problems of the society especially on those who are supporters of the government. For

instance, it can be argued that the expansion of the service sector, and the use of ascriptive criteria in the distribution of the scarce resources of the society are intended to benefit ethnic/political supporters of the party in power primarily.

2. The response of emigration can be considered mainly as one in which individuals and groups are very much frustrated and dissatisfied with conditions in the society and therefore are determined to seek mobility abroad. It is interesting to note that the findings in Chapter V with regard to the mediating effect of adolescents' commitment orientation, indicate that generally the alienative and calculative orientations have a more systematic mediating effect on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. It will be recalled that the alienative oriented are those who have a closed perception of the social structure and an inclination to emigrate. The calculative oriented are those who have an open perception of the social structure and an inclination to emigrate. From a political point of view, therefore, it can be argued that emigration serves to rid the society of non-government supporters thus easing the government of some of its social commitments.

3. Responses like the 'cooling out' process in secondary education, and the increased pursuit of educational qualifications suggest the attempt by the government

either to legitimise individual failure or to encourage the myth of 'contest mobility.'

4. The response of National Service suggests that the government is using education as a social control and screening device for elite recruitment into its ranks. This point is developed in more detail in the discussion which follows.

The Role of Education in Class Formation and the Emergence of the Bureaucratic-Administrative Elite

The analysis, at this point, suggests the crucial question of whether educational expansion coupled with the expansion of the service sector have implications other than those that have been identified so far, such as make-shift attempts to deal with both popular demand for education on the one hand and the unemployment crisis on the other. The answer to the above question is apparently 'yes.' Educational expansion seems related to the process of class formation in post-independent Guyana. Class formation in Guyana in recent years has been influenced by a large number of official and unofficial processes, the economic development policies with special reliance on nationalization, infrastructural development, educational policies and political changes.

The present party in power (P.N.C.) is apparently proud of the fact that it has been able to institute an unprecedented rate of educational expansion in the society. In July 1977 it was reported that government spending on education had increased form $71.4 million in 1976 to $80 million in 1977, a sum which represents 14.6 per cent of the national budget.[22] Yet this study has shown that a rapid expansion has not helped to solve the problems of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment facing the society. In fact, rapid educational expansion has compounded the chronic problems of the society.

Why then has the present ruling party persisted in a policy of rapid educational expansion? While more detailed research is needed, the hypothesis advanced here is that in the absence of a national bourgeoisie in Guyanese society, education has served to create a new bureaucratic-administrative elite, generally loyal to the present party in power. In coalition with the ruling party, it has successfully entrenched itself in the society, has secured a near monopoly control over the state, and has been appropriating to itself all the privileges of a ruling elite. Education is serving to constantly expand the size of this elite as well as recruiting new members into its ranks.

The bureaucratic-administrative elite is employed mainly in the Public Service and other government related fields such as the public corporations, educational system, army, police force, university, banks and the foreign service. In fact, successive mass elected governments (especially the P.N.C.) in their attempt to find jobs for the increasing output from the school system, have (as already indicated) rapidly expanded the service sector which includes the Public Service and other government related employment thereby constantly increasing the size of this elite.

The physical size and power and authority structure of the bureaucratic-administrative elite have been further strengthened both as a consequence of the nationalisation policies pursued by the present ruling party as well as by its political strategy in relation to the army and police force. Nationalisation has served to swell the ranks of this elite, at the same time extending its direct control over important productive and distributive functions of the economy. The ruling party's political strategy towards the army and police has apprently been to ensure that the key positions are filled by those who are loyal to the party. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn of the recent pledge of support to the P.N.C. by the army and the police. The CANA news report of August 20, 1977 states that at the Second Biennial Congress of the P.N.C., the pledge of support was read by Brigadier Clarence Price of the Guyana Defence Force. The report states further: "The Guyana army, police and other disciplined services have given an open pledge of support to the ruling People's National Congress here."[23] Through these measures, therefore, the ruling party and the bureaucratic-administrative elite appear to have further strengthened their control over both the society in general as well as the state apparatus in particular.

This new elite, having its origins in the creole aggregate already mentioned in Chapters III and IV, is comprised mainly of Africans and Coloureds who hold the most important decision-making positions in almost every institution of the Public Sector in the society. As previously mentioned, Africans and Coloureds were the first groups to benefit from mass educational provisions and to qualify for the available white collar jobs granted to them by the British colonialists. In time, especially after the 1940's, as the ruling Whites receded into the background or left the country, the creole aggregate gradually moved into the positions formerly held by the dominant White ruling elite. East Indians, though comprising a significant proportion[24] of this bureaucratic-administrative elite (by virtue mainly of their educational qualifications) have generally not held the most important decision-making or power-wielding positions in the society. The exceptions seem to have been those East Indians regarded as professional or technical 'experts,' e.g., doctors, engineers, managers, or supporters of the ruling party in power. Past historical evidence[25] shows that during the era of the P.P.P. government in the 1960's, this bureaucratic-administrative elite worked 'hand-in-glove' with the then Opposition parties (P.N.C. and U.F.) to oppose, expose, and depose the legally elected government through non-cooperation, strikes, etc. Apparently, some of the radical policies of the P.P.P. were seen as threatening the privileged position of this elite.

The bureaucratic-administrative elite and the present ruling party (P.N.C.) appear to be working in close cooperation since the ruling party is itself part of this bureaucratic-administrative elite. For instance, the overwhelming majority of government ministers and parliamentary secretaries can be said to have originated from the executive and professional occupational category of the society which is part of the bureaucratic-administrative elite. Thus while it has to be conceded that the present government has succeeded in nationalising 'the commanding heights of the economy' and in bringing about certain other structural changes in the society, these measures are not resulting in a socialist transformation of the society. Instead, the government appears to have assumed the role of a state capitalist while the bureaucratic-administrative elite continues to demonstrate its support and loyalty in various ways to the ruling party which in turn is rewarding this elite in suitable ways. As Cheddi Jagan points out in relation to the government's nationalisation of the Canadian owned Demerara Bauxite Company in 1971: "The government only replaced the Canadian-American managerial elite at the nationalized Guyana Bauxite Company with a P.N.C. elite with the same salaries, allowances and perquisites."[26] This pattern seems to be typical for other institutions and organisations as well.

One of the most recent doctrines to be publicised by the ruling party is the paramountcy of the party over the government. In fact, the local Police Force has acknowledged this principle, as seen from a publication of the Force to its members. This means that there has been a gradual integration of the state and ruling party apparatuses of which the bureaucratic-administrative elite is an integral, and needless to say, important part. Given the monopolistic position of the coalition of the ruling party and the bureaucratic-administrative elite over certain 'scarce goods' of the society, and given the self-recruiting nature of this elite, it can be argued that in such a situation education itself has tended to become a 'scarce good,' that is, this elite is adopting a kind of 'sponsored mobility'[27] pattern to recruit suitable potential members into its ranks. Among other measures, National Service appears to be serving as an effective screening device for recruiting the kinds of potential elites desired by the ruling party and the bureaucratic-administrative elite into their ranks.

Concluding Remarks

A view that is quite popular among many Third World leaders (including Guyana's) is the importance attached to the 'human resources' or 'human capital' approach to modernization and economic development. The formal educational system is regarded as the main institutional mechanism for developing these human skills and knowledge. Many Third World leaders have been led to believe that a rapid quantitative expansion of formal education holds the basic key to national development.[28]

Todaro points out that:

> many of the early claims made on behalf of the unfettered quantitative expansion of educational opportunities—that it would accelerate economic growth; that it would raise levels of living especially for the poor; that it would generate widespread and equal employment opportunities for all; that it would acculturate diverse ethnic or tribal groups; and that it would encourage 'modern' attitudes—have been shown to be greatly exaggerated and, in many instances, simply false.[29]

This study of Guyana further reinforces most of Todaro's arguments. A rapid quantitative expansion of education in Guyana has taken place in the context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment. Hardly any attempt has been made to transform the dependent capitalist nature of the economy, the class structure attendant upon it or the wage differentials which exist in the society. As a result, education is serving to compound the existing chronic problems of the society and to play a key role, as discussed above, in the dynamic process of class formation.

While education is related to modernization and development, education per se (especially beyond the primary school level) does not cause these processes. Historical evidence has shown that modernization and development have occurred in certain societies whose peoples did not have high levels of education.[30] But such historical evidence may be of limited help in answering the question of the role of education in the process of development in the countries of the contemporary Third World. It is so because the answer to this question is contingent upon the concrete historical conditions of today under which this development is being attempted. Not the least important of these conditions is the international system of advanced monopoly capitalism and the structures of dependency and underdevelopment which characterise the countries of the Third World as an integral part of this system.

Conventional modernization theory is premised on the historical experience of capitalist development in countries like Britain and others in Western Europe. The historical conditions under which this development took place were fundamentally different. For one thing no international economic system of monopoly capitalism dominated the world order at the time. Hence educational strategies premised on modernization theory of capitalist development are bound to fail in today's Third World countries.

One important insight that the present study provides is that the expansion of educational provisions in the context of well-entrenched class structure in an underdeveloped society like Guyana must lead to a reinforcement of the existing class formations in the society. It must produce a class society and a social structure which serve to impede, not facilitate, economic development. Mobility through education can only lead to the formation of elites which preserve not fundamentally transform existing social relations and structures.

References and Notes

1. M. K. Bacchus, Education and Development in an Emergent Nation: The Case Study of an Economically Less Developed Country (Guyana) from 1945 to 1974. University of Alberta, 1976, Chapter IX.

2. It may be argued that the P.P.P. government itself might have ended up as victims of its liberal belief that a rapid expansion of education would lead to reduction of social inequality. However, it has to be conceded that the P.P.P. had to function under severe political and statutory limitations of pre-independence Guyana during its period of government and therefore would have found itself unable to institute too many radical measures even if it wanted to do so. Compared to the P.P.P., the P.N.C. appears to have had a 'freer hand' to institute radical changes. Giving some idea of the limitations of the P.P.P., Jagan points out that while the P.P.P. held office from 1957 to 1964, the first four of these years were more of a coalition between the P.P.P. and the Colonial Office. While the country was granted internal self-government in 1961, "real power to govern, to carry out our programme fully was withheld from us throughout. We were in office but not in power" (Cheddie Jagan, The West on Trial. London: Michael Joseph, 1966, p. 224). The P.N.C. government, on the other hand, has enjoyed an uninterrupted rule since independence and therefore has had full formal power to effect economic and social change in the society. Added to the problems of the P.P.P. were the severe unsettled conditions caused by inter-ethnic hostilities between 1962 and 1964 following the split in the party in 1957 which led to the development of a sharp ethnic cleavage in Guyanese politics and society.

3. M. K. Bacchus, op. cit., chapter IX.

4. Mirror, Sunday August 1, 1976.

5. Cheddie Jagan, "Guyana: A Reply to the Critics." Monthly Review, September 1977.

6. The West Indies and Caribbean Yearbook 1976/77, p. 167.

7. Guyana Chronicle, May 18, 1976.

8. Loc. cit.

9. M. K. Bacchus, op. cit., chapter IX.

10. Loc. cit.

11. A Digest of Educational Statistics, 1970-1971. Planning Division, Ministry of Education and Social Development, Georgetown, Guyana, p. 128.

12. M. K. Bacchus, op. cit., chapter IX.

13. Loc. cit.

14. Jagdish Bhagwati, "Education, Class Structure and Income Equality." World Development, vol. 1, no. 5, May 1973, p. 22.

15. Loc. cit.

16. At the Corentyne High School, originally one of the older established private high schools in the rural areas, consistently high academic standards have been maintained throughout the years. It is interesting to note that the overwhelming proportion of the staff, including the Headmaster and his Deputy, have been untrained non-graduates.

17. A Digest of Educational Statistics, 1973-1974, p. 85.

18. Ibid., pp. 91 and 93.

19. An 'index number' is a single number which indicates the average value of a set of related items, expressed as a percentage of their average value at some base period (The Penguin Dictionary of Economics, Penguin Books, 1972). Thus the statement: 'The departure index in 1970 was 252' means that the departure index in 1970 was 252 per cent of the average value of the departure index in 1960, that is, the departure index rose by 152 per cent between 1960 and 1970.

20. M. K. Bacchus, op. cit., chapter IX.

21. Mirror, Sunday, August 1, 1976.

22. Guyana Chronicle, July 16, 1977.

23. Caribbean Contact, September 1977.

24. Around 1964, East Indians comprised 33.16 per cent of the Public Service, 19.9 per cent of the Security Forces, 27.17 per cent of the Government Agencies and Undertakings, and 41.27 per cent of the Primary School

Teaching population (Cheddie Jagan, The West on Trial, p. 460).

25. Loc. cit.

26. Cheddie Jagan, "Guyana: A Reply to the Critics," op. cit., p. 41.

27. See Ralph Turner, "Modes of Social Ascent through Education: Sponsored and Contest Mobility." In A. H. Halsey, J. Floud and C. A. Anderson (eds.), Education, Economy and Society. The Free Press, 1961.

28. Michael P. Todaro, "Education and Development: A New Look at Old Shibboleths." Comparative Education Review, June 1975, p. 225.

29. Ibid., p. 226.

30. See for example: C. E. Beeby, The Quality of Education in Developing Countries. Harvard University Press, 1962.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF DYNAMIC STRUCTURALISM

The primary concern in this chapter is to examine the extent to which the theoretical framework used in this study—referred to as Dynamic Structuralism—has been useful for analysing the Guyanese problem studied—the persistence of high educational and occupational aspirations and expectations in the face of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

Dynamic Structuralism

As already argued in Chapter II, the overall theoretical framework of Dynamic Structuralism encompasses three integrated and complementary frameworks, each focussing on a different level of analysis of the problem being studied. These three levels are as follows:

1. Macro-Structural-Economic Explanation—the ideas drawn from underdevelopment theory (especially those of Frank and Carnoy) as they relate to dependent capitalism and the Centre-Periphery framework. By focussing both at the international as well as the national levels, this explanation is expected to show the underlying reasons for underdevelopment and chronic unemployment in Guyanese society.

2. Micro-Structural-Economic Explanation—the ideas drawn from theorists such as Edwards, Todaro, and Bhagwati in attempting to give reasons for the rapid educational expansion or educational explosion that has occurred in the society.

3. The plural society explanation—the ideas of M. G. Smith, R. T. Smith and Leo Despres which focus on the dynamics of inter-group relations in the society in terms of power relations between groups and the aspirations and attitudes of groups towards social mobility and success.

At least three features of these frameworks as outlined below, indicate a measure of theoretical complementarity between them. First, each represents a conflict approach to the study of social relations and offers a societal conflict oriented explanation. Second, the basis of the explanation by each of these frameworks is grounded in the structural features of the society. Third, the three frameworks appear to be interdependent and interrelated. The macro-structural-economic explanation by focussing at a general level, shows how underdevelopment and chronic unemployment are perpetuated as a consequence of Guyana's dependent capitalist status both at the international and national levels. The micro-structural-economic explanation shows how the nature of Guyanese' aspirations and expectations are linked to the dependent capitalist economic and social structure characteristic of the society. The plural society explanation focusses on the peculiar socio-cultural nature of the society and accounts for inter-group differences in mobility aspirations and attitudes in a context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment.

Having outlined the characteristic features of the Dynamic Structuralist framework, the analysis proceeds to make an evaluation of each component part of this general framework in relation to the explanation of a particular aspect of the Guyanese problem under review.

Macro-Structural -Economic Explanation of Underdevelopment and Chronic Unemployment

To a large extent, this explanation conceptualises societal processes and structure within the framework of intersocietal structures such as the imperialist and colonial structure of relations or the world capitalist order and its structure. This explanation has therefore served to give the reasons for the continuing problems of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment in Guyana by pointing to the following:

Dependency in the Economic Sphere

The macro-structural-economic explanation points to the operation of the Centre-Periphery arrangement at both the international as well as the national levels. At the international level, this arrangement worked to the disadvantage of Guyana in several ways. First, the natural and human resources of Guyana were exploited for the benefit of various Metropoles. Second, even when local political leaders increasingly began to exercise some control over the selling of the country's products, the terms of trade tended to operate in favour of the Metropoles and their manufactured goods. Third, the fate of the Guyanese economy was bound up with that of the Metropoles so that when a slump occurred in a particular Metropole, the repercussion was felt in Guyana. Fourth, local industrial effort was discouraged so as to prevent any competition to the manufactured goods imported from various Metropoles.

The Centre-Periphery arrangement helps to show how political independence (1966) has made very little difference to an economic and social structure inherited from colonialism—Guyana seemed to have entered a neo-colonial stage. The reason for this as Cheddie Jagan points out is that:

> Guyana is still largely tied to the crisis-ridden capitalist world, from which over 90 per cent of our imports originate, and to which our exports go.[1]

Similarly, Clive Thomas observes that:

> In Guyana the harsh fact is that despite the nationalizations, etc., the overwhelming bulk of our trade, investment, foreign debt, training and cultural ties is still with the capitalist and imperialist countries.[2]

A plausible reason for the above is that there is a complementarity of interests between the Guyanese elite and the foreign ruling class. Furthermore, there is an apparent conflict of interest between the Guyanese ruling elite and the masses.

It can also be argued that the Centre-Periphery arrangement operates within the society to partly perpetuate economic dependency. It has been argued in Chapter VI that the nationalisation by the government of various expatriates' concerns has served to strengthen the monopoly of the ruling party and the bureaucratic-administrative elite of the major industries in the society. Thus the government by not giving too much encouragement to peasant farming, local industry, etc., is in effect weakening the economic position of the periphery within the Guyanese Periphery getting the Guyanese masses to continue to depend for their sustenance on the now state-owned industries.

Lack of Diversification of the Economy

The framework of underdevelopment theory helps one to understand the nature of the link between continuing economic dependency and an undiversified economy. In the case of Guyana, the foreign capitalists had a vested interest in the modern sector of the economy; the diversification of the economy would have meant a wooing away of the labour supply, particularly the 'industrial reserve army,' into other productive enterprises, thus creating a labour shortage in the sugar and bauxite industries, etc., and possibly a situation where workers could have demanded higher wages.

The lack of the diversification of the economy has also meant that Guyana continues to play the role of a primary producer since it is known that three main products—sugar, bauxite and rice—still account for the bulk of our export earnings, as in colonial times.[3] Among other things, the result is continued dependence on the whims and fancies of the Metropoles, especially where Guyana's primary products are not of strategic value in comparison, say, with those of the oil producing countries.

Through the Centre-Periphery arrangement operating within the society one is able to understand how a lack of the diversification of the economy benefits the ruling elite to the disadvantage of the workers. The recent strikes in the bauxite and sugar industries suggest that the government which has become a state capitalist, is exploiting the workers by not paying them fair wages. Furthermore, the substantial wage differentials existing in the various industries benefit mainly the bureaucratic-administrative elite to the disadvantage of the workers who are the real producers.

Foreign Ownership and Control

The framework of underdevelopment theory contributes to one's understanding of how foreign or Metropolitan dominance has had a depressing effect on the economy and society. First, as Cheddie Jagan points out, foreign investors have had a tendency of dominating the profitable fields of production and leaving the unprofitable ones to the local population.[4] One result has been "exploitation of the working people, farmers and consumers and the reaping of very high profits."[5]

Second, in the expatriates' desire to maximise profits, the broader 'needs' of the society were ignored. For instance, the capitalists were not too concerned with whether or not their industries should be more labour intensive rather than capital intensive.

Third, the most important occupational positions, especially those involving the making of significant management and policy decisions, have always been the monopoly of foreigners. For instance, a 1966 U.N. manpower survey in Guyana indicated that there were over 500 expatriates employed as managers and professionals in the private sector.[6]

The framework of underdevelopment theory therefore serves to indicate not only the exploitation of the economy and society by foreigners but also the manner in which the dependent capitalist nature of the economy and society has been perpetuated.

The Centre-Periphery Arrangement in the Political Sphere

This section of the framework of underdevelopment theory draws attention to how the Centre in the Periphery (Guyana) is coopted by the Centre in the Centre (Metropole) thereby being able to continue to dominate the Peripheral nation (indirectly) politically, economically and socially.

In the case of Guyana, the Centre-Periphery framework helps one to understand why the P.P.P., the first mass based political party, which won the general elections in 1953, was dismissed from office by the British colonialists after only 133 days in the government. A possible explanation is that the P.P.P. was too radical a party to the British colonialists. The P.P.P. could not be relied upon to become a faithful ally and so help to continue the economic exploitation of the society by foreigners. The P.P.P. could give no guarantee to the Colonial Office that British and other foreign interests would be protected indefinitely in Guyana.

Similarly, it has been pointed out in the previous chapter that the P.P.P. continued to experience severe limitations on its power to govern the country between 1957 and 1964. Again, the Centre-Periphery framework contributes to one's understanding of why this was the case. In a similar manner to 1953, the P.P.P. between 1957 and 1964 appeared determined to institute radical changes aimed at changing the dependent capitalist nature of the economy and society. This radicalism was not favoured by Britain and the U.S. Thus as is already known, the P.P.P. was defeated at the polls through a change of the electoral system.

It was Arthur Schlesinger, advisor to the late President Kennedy, who made the suggestion of how to defeat the P.P.P. at the polls. President Kennedy in turn no doubt must have passed on the suggestion to the British government. Schlesinger's advice to President Kennedy was that:

> an independent British Guiana under Burnham (if Burnham will commit himself to a multi-racial policy) would cause us many fewer problems than an independent British Guiana under Jagan. Moreover, the way was open to bring this about, because Jagan's parliamentary strength was larger than his popular strength; he had over 57 per cent of the seats on the basis of 42.7 per cent of the votes. An obvious solution would be to establish a system of proportional representation.[7]

At the national elections in December 1964, the P.P.P. which polled 45 per cent of the total votes, lost to a coalition between the P.N.C. and U.F., which polled 52 per cent of the total votes. The P.N.C. with 40 per cent of the votes became the senior coalition partner of the new government.

The Centre-Periphery arrangement helps one to understand why the P.N.C. has been preferred by the Metropolitan Centres to the P.P.P. It seems that with the P.N.C. in power, there is a greater chance of perpetuating neo-colonialism in the society. One indication of this is the 1966 military treaty, signed on the very day of independence, between the U.S. and the Guyana governments.[8]

Inherent Weakness of Capitalism

The framework of underdevelopment theory appears to be useful for explaining why unemployment is structurally related to capitalism. Carnoy, for instance, argues that: "The basis of capitalist economic growth . . . is to maximise the return to capital rather than to labour"[9] so that under capitalism unemployment would be a significant problem since "capitalists prefer capital-intensive technology, and such technology tends to reduce the growth of demand for labour and put downward pressure on wages."[10] In the case of Guyana, Carnoy's ideas help to explain why the modern sector has tended to be highly capital intensive rather than labour intensive and why the foreign capitalists have used the most up to date technology in the various industries.[11] The evidence shows that in the sugar industry while production has fluctuated from 365,000 tons in 1969 to 369,000 in 1971 to 341,000 tons in 1974,[12] there has been a steady decline in the total labour force employed during the 'in-crop' season. In 1968 the total numbers employed were 22,175; by 1975 this figure had decreased to 21,172.[13] In short, while production levels have been maintained or increased, labour inputs have decreased.

Another relevant observation of Carnoy is that while capitalist development is characterised by an increase in per capita income, it is also characterised by an "unchanged or increasingly unequal income distribution."[14] This explains why a dualistic economic and wage structure has developed in the society and why Guyanese' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations are focussed mainly on the capitalist modern and service sectors of the economy.

Limitations of Macro-Structural-Economic Explanation

There is no doubt that through the above explanation one is able to discern the possible reasons for underdevelopment and chronic unemployment in Guyanese society. However, this macro-structural-economic framework does not appear to have enough 'flexibility' in order to account for continued underdevelopment and chronic unemployment under different sets of circumstances—the framework does not seem to focus enough attention on the operation of the capitalist system within the society. The following example serves to illustrate the point being made:

This study has shown that the present government has nationalised all major expatriates' concerns and in turn has simply instituted state capitalism. The ruling party appears to be governing the country in a de facto coalition with the bureaucratic-administrative elite, already described in the previous chapter. While the government has embarked on a wide range of infrastructural developmental works, underdevelopment and chronic unemployment continue to characterise the society. The main limitation of the macro-structural-economic framework, therefore, appears to be that enough attention is not focussed on the processes of 'internal capitalism' which tend to perpetuate underdevelopment and chronic unemployment. As already indicated, the ruling party has nationalised all major expatriates' concerns. Aided by state capitalism and the bureaucratic-administrative elite, the new ruling elite seems to assume the role of Centre within the Periphery. Thus nationalisation has not resulted in a redistribution of the wealth in the entire society. Instead, the colonial style economic structure persists to a large extent since this situation appears to benefit both the Guyanese ruling elite as well as the various Metropoles that have traditionally exploited the economy and society.

Micro-Structural-Economic Explanation of the 'Educational Explosion'

Edwards, Todaro and Bhagwati are the main proponents of this explanation. As previously mentioned, these theorists try to account for educational inflation within the dependent capitalist framework.

The first idea that is relevant to the explanation of the educational explosion in Guyana is Edwards' and Todaro's observation that educational demand is positively related to the urban-rural or modern-traditional wage differential, that is, the greater the differential, the higher will be the demand for education. This helps explain why Guyanese have been making excessive demands for all types of education. It has been argued that educational credentials have traditionally equipped the individual for a job in the modern and service sectors which pay the highest wages and salaries. This was the pattern in the colonial era; this continues to be the pattern to the present.

Edwards' and Todaro's observation is also probably relevant for explaining the urban-rural differences in adolescents' aspirations/expectations as seen from the findings of Chapter V where it is argued that urban dwellers have traditionally enjoyed more advantages than rural dwellers in terms of the 'scarce goods' of the society.

The second idea that is relevant to the explanation of the educational explosion in the society is Edwards' and Todaro's argument that educational demand is inversely related to the direct costs of education, that is, the higher the direct costs, the lower would be the private demand for education. This is another reason which helps to explain the excessive social demand for education in the society. It has been argued that the direct costs of education have tended to be low since education has always been heavily subsidised by various mass elected governments so much so that as from September 1976, education from the kindergarten to the university level became 'free' of charge.

It should be noted that inherent in Edwards' and Todaro's idea of 'direct costs' is the notion that if these are raised then educational demand will be lowered. It can be argued that such a policy will serve to discriminate especially against the poor. The consistent position taken in this study by this researcher is that in order to help solve the chronic problems of the society, including educational inflation, basic structural changes have to be effected simultaneously both within the educational system and the economic and social structure.

Edwards' and Todaro's observation concerning the 'opportunity costs' of education is also helpful for explaining the educational explosion that has occurred in Guyanese society. The concept of 'opportunity costs' concerns the idea of an individual, for instance, who decides to proceed on to a university education instead of terminating his schooling at the secondary level, thereby foregoing the income he would have earned as a secondary school graduate. Edwards and Todaro argue that the greater the opportunity costs, the lower will be the demand for education. This study has shown that the opportunity costs of schooling are low, given the context of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment. On the other hand, in the light of education being heavily subsidised by the government or even 'free' of charge, there has been the tendency for Guyanese to aim for the highest levels of education possible, hence the educational explosion.

The notion of educational devaluation or qualification escalation is implicitly recognised by Edwards and Todaro. They argue that the more unprofitable a given level of education becomes as a terminal point, the greater is the increase in the demand for it as a necessary first step towards the next level of education. This study has shown that the above tendency is particularly noticeable at the primary school and secondary school levels of the educational system. For instance, the tremendous increase in numbers of pupils who usually write qualifying examinations for entry into secondary schools, is noted in Chapter IV. Edwards' and Todaro's point therefore provides a further explanation of why the social demand for education in Guyana is so high.

A final relevant argument of Edwards and Todaro is that as the unemployment situation worsens, educational demand as well as supply tend to increase at all levels. While initially it is the uneducated who swell the ranks of the unemployed, over time the tendency is for the average educational level of the unemployed to rise. Governments and private employers strengthen this trend by constantly upgrading qualifications. Edwards and Todaro as well as Bhagwati argue that the educational system acts as a screening device in that when jobs are given on the basis of who have the highest qualifications, it is the less fortunate educationally who are relegated to the ranks of the unemployed and these comprise mainly the lower social classes. To some extent the argument of Edwards, Todaro and Bhagwati helps explain why educational demands of Guyanese in the face of underdevelopment and chronic unemployment continue to rise and why the higher social classes have tended to benefit disproportionately from educational provisions.

Limitations of Micro-Structural-Economic Explanation

It has to be admitted that the theoretical ideas of Edwards, Todaro and Bhagwati comprising the micro-structural-economic framework are intended to apply to dependent capitalist economies and societies generally. Thus the framework as specifically applied to Guyanese society appears to have at least one serious limitation: In addition to the demand for education being examined from the basis of social class, this study has shown the important linkage between educational demand and ethnicity. The limitation of the micro-structural-economic explanation is offset, however, by the third complementary explanation which is the plural explanation.

The 'Plural' Explanation of Inter-Group Mobility Aspirational/Expectational Attitudes

This explanation focusses more or less on the dynamics of intergroup relations in the society. For instance, the social-psychological analysis of Chapter V is concerned with different groups' perception of their chances for educational and occupational mobility, given the underdeveloped nature and chronic state of unemployment in the society.

Through the plural framework (embodying the ideas of M. G. Smith, R. T. Smith and Leo Despres) one is able to gain the following insights:

1. One is able to recognise the formative influences on early Guyanese society in a context where different ethnic and cultural groups were brought together by the dominant colonial power. One notices the colonial government's policy which resulted in the separating of some of these groups in terms of residence, occupations and social interaction. For instance, in Chapters III and IV a detailed description is given of the manner in which East Indians were separated from the rest of the 'creole' society. Plural theory therefore helps to explain how the plural and segmented nature of the society was formed and perpetuated.

2. The plural framework draws attention to the dominant-subordinate nature of intergroup relationships in colonial society. It was seen that the colonial ruling group of Whites, although small in proportion to the rest of the society, were able to exercise direct control over the subordinate groups of non-whites through the state

apparatus which included the police force and the law courts which they effectively dominated. Conflict between the subordinate groups was minimised because of the dominant position of the colonial ruling group.

3. While under colonial rule the White ruling group was interested in maintaining the segmented and plural nature of the society for as long as possible, it simultaneously encouraged the creolization of the other subcultural sections by getting them to emulate the values, beliefs, attitudes and life styles of the colonialists. Plural theory helps one to understand how a 'dependence psychology' was maintained over the locals and how the colonialists were able to rule effectively through a 'divide and rule' policy.

4. Plural theory helps to explain the inter-ethnic rivalries and hostilities that have characterised the society over the years. As M. G. Smith points out:

> Since the plural society depends for its structural form and continuity on the regulation of inter-sectional relations by government, changes in the social structure presuppose political changes, and these usually have a violent form.[15]

From the above one can understand why national elections since 1957 have been keenly fought contests, why there is a close interrelationship between 'race' and voting preferences and why national elections since 1964 are alleged to have been rigged in favour of the present political party in power (P.N.C.). Since East Indians traditionally support the P.P.P. and Africans and Coloureds, the P.N.C., plural theory helps explain how and why there has always been conflict and competition between East Indians and Africans and Coloureds (through national elections) to gain political dominance in the society.

5. The plural framework helps explain some of the findings in Chapter V with regard to East Indians and Africans and Coloureds. Among these findings are:

a. That East Indians have slightly higher educational and occupational aspirations than Africans and Coloureds. Africans and Coloureds definitely have higher educational and occupational expectations than East Indians.

b. That East Indians seem to be more aware than Africans and Coloureds of the structural barriers and pressures operating against individuals in the society. This is seen from a greater proportion of East Indians who expect to end up in the lower occupational levels or even among the unemployed category.

Plural theory helps one to understand the possible reasons for these findings. As already argued, Africans and Coloureds probably believe that they are more privileged than other groups, that the present ruling party exists to serve the needs of Africans and Coloureds before other groups', hence the pattern of Africans' and Coloureds' expectations. Conversely, East Indians probably see themselves as a disadvantaged group since 'their party' is not in power.

Limitations of Plural Theory

There is no doubt that the plural framework has contributed significantly to an understanding of the dynamics of intergroup relations in the society in terms of intergroup mobility aspirational/expectational attitudes. Plural theory has also assisted in explaining the formation and maintenance of a segmented plural society structure. An apparent serious limitation of plural theory, however, is that conflict is seen only in terms of 'cultural sections' rather than on a broader basis such as social class. The findings of this study appear to demonstrate the limitations of plural theory in the following ways:

1. It has been argued that the present ruling party has seized political power and together with its de facto coalition partner—the bureaucratic-administrative elite—are ruling the country mainly in their own self-interest. Plural society theory seems to offer an alternative to the Marxist model of class society for explaining social cleavages in a society. But the emerging class structure of the Guyanese society and its expression in terms of political development cannot be explained in the context of the plural framework. While it is important

to recognise that ethnic cleavages may set the conditions and limits of the operation of class relations and conflict as ongoing processes, the use of ethnicity as a theoretical alternative to conceptualise social structure and its dynamics, is clearly inadequate.

2. As a further illustration of the above, it has been found, for instance, that the present ruling party and the bureaucratic-administrative elite have been dealing firmly with any individuals or groups which appear to threaten the security and status quo of the ruling elite. Thus the riot squad police's teargassing of traditional P.N.C. supporters (who are Africans) at GUYBAU, the harassing of the Working Peoples Alliance (a political and ideological group comprised of African and East Indian intellectuals and workers) and the denial of well known Marxist, Walter Rodney (an African), a job as lecturer at the University of Guyana, demonstrate that the emerging conflicts observed in the society cannot be analysed from the perspective of ethnicity alone but more fundamentally from the perspective of the class interest of various groups. In this situation, plural society theory is inadequate.

At this point mention should be made of the idea usually propounded by functionalists that education serves a homogenizing function in society, that is, that education assists in integrating the various groups in the society.

To Durkheim,[16] for instance, the school is regarded as a 'melting pot' where the individual is 'submerged' to re-emerge as part of the larger societal collective, sharing common beliefs, values, attitudes, etc. With regard to Guyanese society in particular, Raymond T. Smith[17] argues that schooling has helped in the creolization process of Guyanese. The findings in this study with reference to the differences between groups in terms of their aspirations/expectations as well as their different commitment orientations to the society would strongly indicate that education is serving to socially segment rather than socially integrate the various groups.

Compatibility between Plural Theory and Dynamic Structuralist (Marxist) Theory

Mention has already been made in Chapter III to Cheddie Jagan's assertion that there is a dialectic relationship between 'race' and 'class' influencing events in Guyanese society. The aim now is to show how both plural theory and Dynamic Structuralism are useful for analysing conflict situations in the society.

David Lockwood, for instance, advances a few interesting arguments in relation to the above concern. He observes that the cultural pluralism of ethnically, racially, or linguistically divided societies comes about through external factors through the physical movement into the indigenous society of one or more culturally distinct groups, whose presence then results in the juxtaposition of separate blocs.[18] On the other hand, the Dynamic Structuralist (Marxist) focus is on the process of internal change whereby economic conflicts arising from the structure of differentially related life-chances and life-experiences within a given occupational structure come to be articulated into an ideological conflict about the legitimacy of the structure itself. Thus the various contending groups or classes are located within a common division of labour and the ideological conflict between them takes place within a common system of values and beliefs.[19]

In contrast to a 'class' society, Lockwood argues that the conflict between ethnic or racial blocs in a plural society will tend to centre on the dominance of one group over another rather than on the system of domination as such. In contrast to class revolution, conflict in plural society, however violent, is not so much directed at the structure of power but rather at the usurpation of power by one section of the community to the disadvantage of the other.[20]

In the Guyanese context, therefore, it may be argued that plural theory is probably useful for examining the competition and conflict between ethnic groups from early colonial times to around 1953 since the level of conflict was focussed mainly on the dominance of the colonial ruling group over the other groups in the society. Dynamic Structuralism appears to be more useful for analysing the competition and conflict between groups since 1953 since one has to take into account the emergence of the new class structure in the society as well as the attempt by local political leaders to change the system of colonial domination as such.

Conclusion

Having applied the theoretical framework of Dynamic Structuralism to the problem under study, the general impression one gets is that despite its limitations, the framework has succeeded to a large extent in explaining the problem under review. The attempt to do this at three integrated and complementary levels of analyses has apparently made for as complete an explanation of the problem as possible. Assuming that one can recognise, and overcome the limitations of Dynamic Structuralism in particular contexts, the argument here is that this theoretical framework can be usefully applied to the examination of aspirations and expectations of different groups in societies that are more or less similar to Guyana in terms of economy and social structure.

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2. Clive Thomas, "Bread and Justice: The Struggle for Socialism in Guyana." Monthly Review, September 1976, pp. 29-30.

3. Cheddie Jagan, op. cit., p. 44.

4. Cheddie Jagan, The West on Trial. London: Michael Joseph, 1966, p. 403.

5. Loc. cit.

6. Clive Thomas, "Black Exploitation in the Caribbean." In Arde Coombs (ed.), Is Massa Day Dead? New York: Anchor Books, 1974, pp. 135-136.

7. Quoted in Paul Singh, Guyana: Socialism in a Plural Society. Fabian Research Series 307, October 1972, p. 15.

8. Clive Thomas, "Bread and Justice," op. cit., p. 30.

9. Martin Carnoy, "The Political Consequences of Manpower Formation." Comparative Education Review, vol. 19, no. 1, February 1975, p. 115.

10. Loc. cit.

11. At Albion Estate on the Corentyne, for instance, multimillion dollar investments in the modernising of the sugar factory has resulted in this factory now producing the largest amount of sugar in the country. On the other hand, where formerly about 400 workers were employed in this factory, now the increased output is produced by less than 50 workers.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

ADOLESCENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix 1

ADOLESCENT QUESTIONNAIRE CONFIDENTIAL

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

SERIAL NO.____________

DECK NO.____________

You are asked to note that this is not a test. It is a research project in which I am trying to find out something of your future plans regarding your education and jobs. You are asked to think carefully before answering the various questions. It is hoped that you will give sincere answers, otherwise this entire exercise will not be very useful.

Please do not write your name on any part of this questionnaire. Also, do not write in any of the margins.

A. Please indicate your sex by circling the appropriate number below:

1. Male
2. Female

B. Please indicate your age by circling the appropriate number below:

1. 12 years and below
2. 13 to 15 years
3. 16 to 18 years
4. 19 years and over

C. Indicate the type of area in which you normally live by circling the appropriate number below:

1. Georgetown, Greater Georgetown or New Amsterdam
2. Rural area
3. Interior

D. Indicate the kind of school you are attending by circling the appropriate number below:

1. Senior Government Secondary
2. Junior Government Secondary
3. Government Aided Secondary
4. Private Secondary
5. Primary

E. Indicate the ethnic group to which you belong by circling the appropriate number below:

1. East Indian
2. African
3. Mixed or coloured
4. Chinese
5. Portuguese
6. Amerindian
7. Other

F. Indicate the highest level of your father's (or guardian's) education or schooling by circling the appropriate number below:

1. No education
2. Some primary school only
3. Completed primary school
4. Some high school only
5. Completed high school
6. Technical, vocational or professional training
7. Holds university degree, diploma or certificate

G. What work does your father (or guardian) do? (Give details, e.g., Asst. Teacher, Head Teacher, Class One Civil Servant, ground-provision farmer, rice-farmer).

____

H. People generally want to have education for different reasons. Mention the most important reason why you want an education. Most important reason ______________________________

____

I. Supposing you had the opportunity, including the ability, money, etc., up to what level of education would you really like to go? (Circle the appropriate number below):

1. G.C.E. 'O' Level
2. G.C.E. 'A' Level
3. Technical and Vocational education, e.g., Teacher training, Technical Institute, Nursing, etc.
4. Sub-professional education, e.g., medical technology, Diploma in Civil Engineering, etc.
5. University degree or professional qualification, e.g., medicine, law, dentistry, etc.
6. Other (say what it is)__________________________

J. Considering your present ability, performance at school, financial position, family background, etc., up to what level of education do you think you might actually be able to go?

1. G.C.E. 'O' Level
2. G.C.E. 'A' Level
3. Technical and vocational education, e.g., teacher training, technical institute, nursing, etc.
4. Sub-professional education, e.g., medical technology, diploma in Civil Engineering, etc.
5. University degree of professional qualification, e.g., medicine, law, dentistry, etc.
6. Other (say what it is)____________________________

K. If you were free to choose, name the type of job you would like to have after you complete all your schooling.

____

L. What is your main reason for choosing this type of job? Main reason____

____

M. Viewing your position realistically, what kind of job do you think you might actually end up getting after you complete your schooling?

____

N. In your opinion, what is the surest way for a person to get a suitable job in Guyana today? (Write in detail)

____

____

____

____

O. Is there any job or profession your parents (or guardians) would like you to enter after you complete your education? (Circle the appropriate number below):

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

P. (Answer this only if you said 'yes' to O): Name the kind of job or profession your parents (or guardians) would like you to enter.

____

Q. (Answer this only if you said 'yes' to O): Do you think you will actually enter this job or profession desired by your parents (or guardians)? (Circle the appropriate number below):

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know

R. Supposing you have the opportunity and financial backing, etc., do you think that you might like to go abroad to further your studies? (Circle the appropriate number below):

1. Yes
2. No
3. I am not sure

S. (Answer only if you said yes to R): If you go abroad to study, what field or area of education would you be interested in taking up?

____

T. (Answer only if you said yes to R): What is the most important reason why you might want to go abroad to further your studies?
Most important reason__________________________________

____

U. Supposing you have the opportunity, do you think that you might like to go abroad in the near future to live permanently? (Circle the appropriate number below):

1. Yes
2. No
3. I am not sure

V. (Answer this only if you said 'yes' to U): State the most important reason why you might want to go abroad in the near future to live permanently.
Most important reason__________________________________

____

W. In your opinion, what is the best way for a person to become important and to make progress in Guyana today? (Give details)

____

____

____

____

X. What would you say are the three most important aims or goals you have in life?

Most important______________________________

Next most important______________________________

Next most important______________________________

Y. In your opinion, what kinds of things usually prevent people from getting ahead in life and making progress in Guyana today?

____

____

____

____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION,

AHAMAD BAKSH
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL
FOUNDATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA.

APPENDIX 2

LETTER TO TEACHERS IN THE INTERIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

Appendix 2

The University of Guyana
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Sociology

BOX 841, GEORGETOWN,
Telephone 69201-6

May 11, 1976

Dear Comrade:

First of all please allow me to introduce myself. I am a University of Guyana lecturer on study-leave and at present I am a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Alberta.

I arrived in Guyana on May 1 to conduct research in relation to my thesis entitled: Mobility Aspirations In An Emergent Nation - The Case of Guyana. Part of my research concerns a survey of the opinions and attitudes of Guyanese school children in relation to the kinds of educational and occupational aspirations that they have. I am interested in the Third From of Primary Schools and the Fifth Forms of Secondary Schools.

I have already obtained permission from the Guyana Ministry of Education to do my research among the schools. However, my original plan of visiting as many schools as possible has to be modified in the light of an emergency situation that has arisen. Our little baby is very ill in hospital in Alberta and the doctors advise that I return to Canada as quickly as possible. In view of this emergency, I am asking your kind cooperation and help on humanitarian grounds.

Enclosed is a set of questionnaries to be filled out by Third Form students (in the case of Primary Schools or Fifth Form students in the case of Secondary Schools) under the supervision of a responsible teacher. The following are some points for the guidance of teachers and students:

1. The students answering the questionnaire should be selected at random. For instance, the teacher can select every second person from the attendance register, or use any other method so as to avoid any bias.

2. All students should answer the questionnaire simultaneously under the direction of the teacher, one question at a time. The teacher should read out each question and than ask students to write down their answers.

3. The teacher can explain any of the questions to the students but should never suggest or hint any of the answers. Students' sincere answers are absolutely essential.

4. It should be explained to the students that the exercise of filling in the questionnaire is not a test. Their own opinions

are highly regarded and the exercise is designed to find out something of students' future plans regarding their education and jobs.

5. All that is left to be done after the questionnaires are answered, is to enclose them in the self-addressed envelope which already has the required postage, and deposit the envelope in a small box.

Once again, I am appealing to you to try your best to ensure that the questionnaires are filled out and promptly sent to me.

Thanks in anticipation and please note that one copy of my thesis would be presented to the Ministry of Education and another to the University of Guyana Library.

Yours sincerely,

Ahamad Baksh

AB/sb

encl.